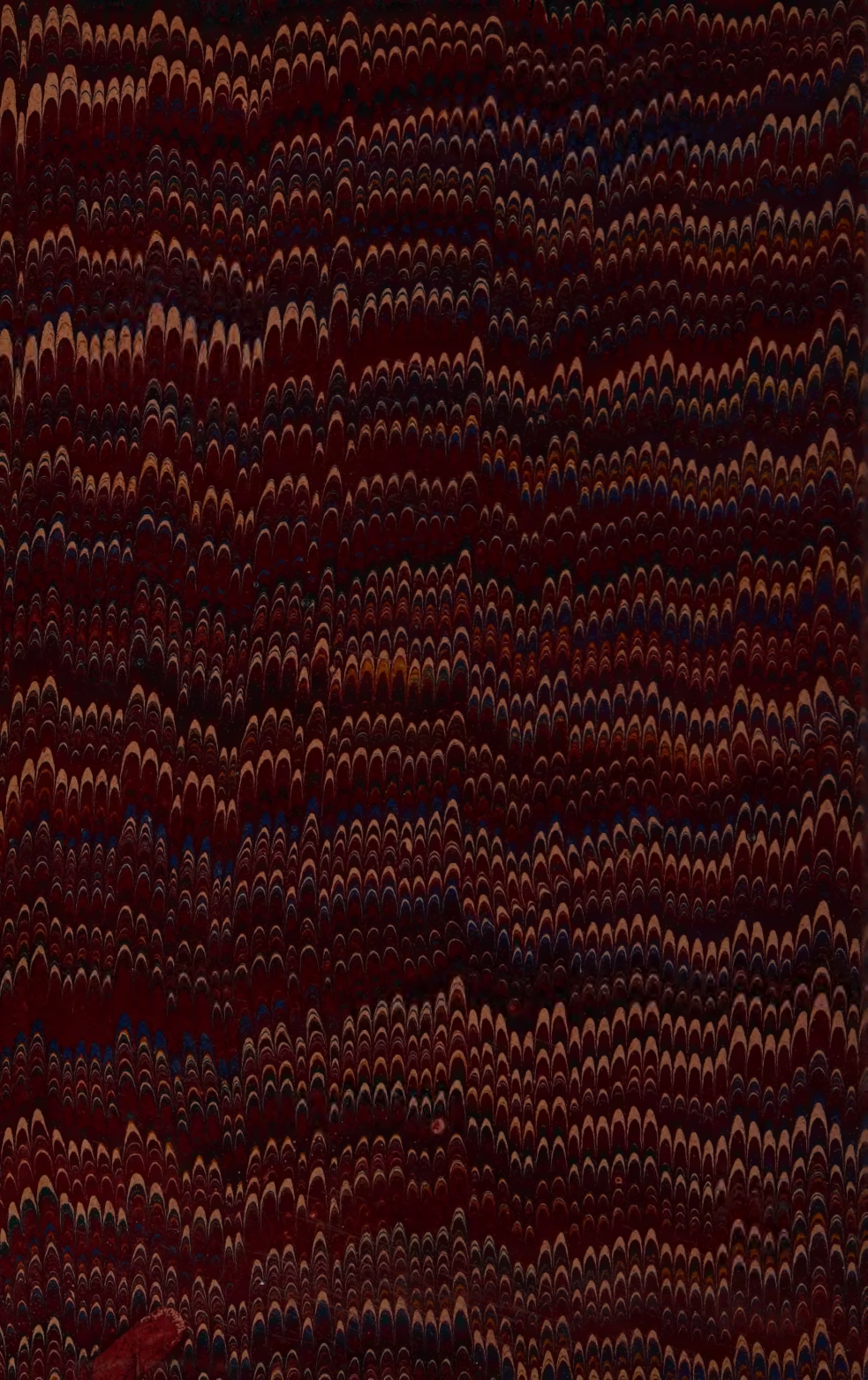

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT.

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

The Author's Last Revision.

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE.

THE adoption of the federal government marks the chief division in the history of the United States. The period which leads to that epoch has within itself perfect unity and completeness. The narrative which has been carried forward to this broad line of demarkation is therefore now laid before the public in a compact form after a revision by its author, which must be his last.

Each one of the several parts into which the long period naturally arranges itself has its special universal interest. The formation in the New World of a people of European origin with a political life of its own was the most pregnant event of the seventeenth century. This subject is brought to its conclusion in the present volume.

The epoch which will trace the young American states from the British revolution of 1688 far into the eighteenth century asserts its claim to a world-wide character, though of a different nature. The wars of religion were ended, and material interests swelled the sails of the age. The striving for commerce, which in those days meant a monopoly of commerce, absorbed the great nations of the earth; and a monopoly of commerce meant the establishment or the acquisition of dependent colonies. After the death of William III., who would have watched over the

rights of the Netherlands, the unity of the history of Britain will in vain be sought for among its ruling princes, of whom all were insignificant; or in its great families in an age when the aristocracy was absolutely supreme, and yet when little is to be told about its chiefs but their factious altercations for the lead. The unity resides in the struggle for lordship over the commerce of the world. Every question, dynastic or ministerial, was drawn into this mighty ocean stream, where, in the great naval race, the flag of England was ever foremost. In these struggles Africa and Asia were the scenes of wonderful deeds; but every effort, every contention, every war pointed to the rivalry of the powers of Europe in North America. The climax of this period for England is marked by the double victory of the elder Pitt, as minister, through Wolf on the Plains of Abraham, and, though he had ceased to be minister, as still the animating soul of the English army and fleet which made the conquest of Havana.

In the epochs that next followed, no one disputes that the paramount interest in the history of the world rests on the colonies held by Britain in North America.

In this last revision, as in the first composition, it is the fixed purpose to secure perfect accuracy in the relation of facts, even to their details and their coloring, and to keep truth clear from the clouds, however brilliant, of conjecture and tradition. No well-founded criticism that has been seen, whether made here or abroad, with a good will or a bad one, has been neglected.

The next aim is lucidity in the ordering of the narrative, so that the reader may follow the changes of public affairs in their connection, and with every page be carried forward in the story.

There is no end to the difficulty in choosing language

which will awaken in the reader the very same thought that was in the mind of the writer. In the form of expression, many revisions are hardly enough to assure strict correctness and propriety. Repetitions and redundancies have been removed; greater precision has been sought for; the fitter word that offered itself accepted; and, without the surrender of the right of history to pronounce its opinion, care has been taken never unduly to forestall the judgment of the reader, but to leave events as they sweep onward to speak their own condemnation or praise.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October*, 1882.

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

The United States of America constitute an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the civilized nations of the earth. At a period when the force of moral opinion is rapidly increasing, they have the precedence in the practice and the defence of the equal rights of man. The sovereignty of the people is here a conceded axiom, and the laws, established upon that basis, are cherished with faithful patriotism. While the nations of Europe aspire after change, our constitution engages the fond admiration of the people, by which it has been established. Prosperity follows the execution of even justice; invention is quickened by the freedom of competition; and labor rewarded with sure and unexampled returns. Domestic peace is maintained without the aid of a military establishment; public sentiment permits the existence of but few standing troops, and those only along the seaboard and on the frontiers. A gallant navy protects our commerce, which spreads its banners on every sea, and extends its enterprise to every clime. Our diplomatic relations connect us on terms of equality and honest friendship with the chief powers of the world, while we avoid entangling participation in their intrigues, their passions, and their wars. Our national resources are developed by an earnest culture of the arts of peace. Every man may enjoy the fruits of his indus-

try; every mind is free to publish its convictions. Our government, by its organization, is necessarily identified with the interests of the people, and relies exclusively on their attachment for its durability and support. Even the enemies of the state, if there are any among us, have liberty to express their opinions undisturbed; and are safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat their errors. Nor is the constitution a dead letter, unalterably fixed: it has the capacity for improvement, adopting whatever changes time and the public will may require, and safe from decay so long as that will retains its energy. New states are forming in the wilderness; canals, intersecting our plains and crossing our highlands, open numerous channels to internal commerce; manufactures prosper along our watercourses; the use of steam on our rivers and railroads annihilates distance by the acceleration of speed. Our wealth and population, already giving us a place in the first rank of nations, are so rapidly cumulative that the former is increased fourfold, and the latter is doubled, in every period of twenty-two or twenty-three years. There is no national debt, the government is economical, and the public treasury full. Religion, neither persecuted nor paid by the state, is sustained by the regard for public morals and the earnestness of an enlightened faith. Intelligence is diffused with unparalleled universality; a free press teems with the choicest productions of all nations and ages. There are more daily journals in the United States than in the world beside. A public document of general interest is, within a month, reproduced in at least a million of copies, and is brought within the reach of every freeman in the country. An immense concourse of emigrants of the most various lineage is perpetually crowding to our shores, and the principles of liberty, uniting all interests by the operation of equal laws, blend the discordant elements into harmonious union. Other governments are convulsed by the innovations and reforms of neighboring states; our constitution, fixed in the affections of the people, from whose choice it has sprung, neutralizes the influence of foreign principles, and fearlessly opens an asylum to the virtuous, the unfortunate, and the oppressed of every nation.

And yet it is but little more than two centuries since the oldest of our states received its first permanent colony. Before that time the whole territory was an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent the arts had not erected a monument. Its only inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce and of political connection. The axe and the ploughshare were unknown. The soil, which had been gathering fertility from the repose of ages, was lavishing its strength in magnificent but useless vegetation. In the view of civilization the immense domain was a solitude.

It is the object of the present work to explain how the change in the condition of our land has been brought about; and, as the fortunes of a nation are not under the control of blind destiny, to follow the steps by which a favoring Providence, calling our institutions into being, has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory. 1834.

The foregoing words, written nearly a half-century ago, are suffered to remain, because the intervening years have justified their expression of confidence in the progress of our republic. The seed of disunion has perished; and universal freedom, reciprocal benefits, and cherished traditions bind its many states in the closest union. 1882.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AS COLONIES.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE FOUND A NATION IN AMERICA.

FROM 1492 TO 1660.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES. FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

The enterprise of Columbus, the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world, formed between Europe and America the communication which will never cease.

Nearly three centuries before the Christian era, Aristotle, following the lessons of the Pythagoreans, had taught that the earth is a sphere, and that the water which bounds Europe on the west washes the eastern shores of Asia. Instructed by him, the Spaniard Seneca believed that a ship, with a fair wind, could sail from Spain to the Indies in a few days. The opinion was revived in the middle ages by Averroes, the Arab commentator of Aristotle. Science and observation assisted to confirm it; and poets of ancient and of more recent times had foretold that empires beyond the ocean would one day be revealed to the daring navigator. The genial country of Dante and Buonarotti gave birth to Christopher Columbus, by whom these lessons were so received and weighed that he gained the glory of fulfilling the prophecy. Accounts of the navigation from the eastern coast of Africa to Arabia had reached the western kingdoms of Europe; and adventurous Venetians, returning from travels beyond the Ganges, had filled the world with dazzling descriptions of the wealth of China as well as marvellous reports of the outlying island empire of Japan. It began to be believed that the continent of Asia stretched over far more than a hemisphere, and that the remaining distance round the globe was comparatively short. Yet from the early part of the fifteenth century the navigators of Portugal had directed their explorations to the coast of

Africa; and, when they had ascertained that the torrid zone is habitable even under the equator, the discovery of the islands of Madeira and the Azores could not divert them from the purpose of turning the southern capes of that continent and steering past them to the land of spices, which promised untold wealth to the merchants of Europe, new dominions to its princes, and heathen nations to the religion of the cross. Before the year 1474, and perhaps as early as 1470, Columbus was attracted to Lisbon, which was then the great centre of maritime adventure. He came to insist with immovable resoluteness that the shortest route to the Indies lay across the Atlantic. By the words of Aristotle, received through Averroes, and by letters from Toscanelli, the venerable cosmographer of Florence who had drawn a map of the world with eastern Asia rising over against Europe, he was riveted in his faith, and lived only in the idea of laying open the western path to the Indies.

After more than ten years of vain solicitations in Portugal, he left the banks of the Tagus to seek the aid of Ferdinand and Isabella, rich in nautical experience, having watched the stars at sea from the latitude of Iceland to near the equator at Elmina. Though yet longer baffled by the skepticism which knew not how to comprehend the clearness of his conceptions, or the mystic trances which sustained his inflexibility of purpose, or the unfailing greatness of his soul, he lost nothing of his devotedness to the sublime office to which he held himself elected from his infancy by the promises of God. When half resolved to withdraw from Spain, travelling on foot, he knocked at the gate of the monastery of La Rabida, at Palos, to crave the needed charity of food and shelter for himself and his little son whom he led by the hand, the destitute and neglected seaman, in his naked poverty, was still the promiser of kingdoms; holding firmly in his grasp "the keys of the ocean sea," claiming, as it were from Heaven, the Indies as his own, and "dividing them as he pleased." It was then that through the prior of the convent his holy confidence found support in Isabella, the queen of Castile; and in 1492, with three poor vessels, of which the largest only was decked, embarking from Palos for the Indies by way of the west, Columbus gave a

New World to Castile and Leon, "the like of which was never done by any man in ancient or in later times."

Successive popes of Rome had already conceded to the Portuguese the undiscovered world from Cape Bojador in Africa easterly to the Indies. To prevent collision between Christian princes, on the fourth of May, 1493, Alexander VI. published a bull, in which he drew an imaginary line from the north pole to the south a hundred leagues west of the Azores, assigning to Spain all that lies to the west of that boundary, while all to the east of it was confirmed to Portugal.

The commerce of the middle ages, concentrated upon the Mediterranean Sea, had enriched the Italian republics, and had been chiefly engrossed by their citizens. After the fall of the Byzantine empire the Christian states desired to escape the necessity of strengthening the Ottoman power by the payment of tribute on all intercourse with the remoter east. Maritime enterprise, transferring its home to the borders of the Atlantic, set before itself as its great problem the discovery of a pathway by sea to the Indies; and England, which like Spain and Portugal looked out upon the ocean, became a competitor for the unknown world.

The wars of the houses of York and Lancaster had terminated with the intermarriage of the heirs of the two families; the spirit of commercial activity began to be successfully fostered; and the marts of England were frequented by Lombard adventurers. The fisheries of the north had long tempted the merchants of Bristol to an intercourse with Iceland; and had matured the nautical skill that could buffet the worst storms of the Atlantic. Nor is it impossible that some uncertain traditions respecting the remote discoveries which Icelanders had made in Greenland toward the north-west, "where the lands nearest meet," should have excited "firm and pregnant conjectures." The achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth of which the germ may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which belonged to genius that seemed more divine than human; and "there was great talk of it in all the court of Henry VII." A feeling of disappointment remained, that a series of disasters had defeated the wish of the illustrious

Genoese to make his voyage of essay under the flag of England. It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a denizen of Venice, residing at Bristol, to interest that politic king in plans for discovery. On the fifth of March, 1496, he obtained under the great seal a commission empowering himself and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs, or their deputies, to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea with a fleet of five ships, at their own expense, in search of islands, provinces, or regions hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on city, island, or continent; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be found. It was further stipulated in this "most ancient American state paper of England," that the patentees should be strictly bound, on every return, to land at the port of Bristol, and to pay to the king one fifth part of their gains; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found was reserved to them and to their assigns, without limit of time.

Under this patent, which, at the first direction of English enterprise toward America, embodied the worst features of monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot, taking with him his son Sebastian, embarked in quest of new islands and a passage to Asia by the north-west. After sailing prosperously, as he reported, for seven hundred leagues, on the twenty-fourth day of June, 1497, early in the morning, almost fourteen months before Columbus on his third voyage came in sight of the main, and more than two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries, he discovered the western continent, probably in the latitude of about fifty-six degrees, among the dismal cliffs of Labrador. He ran along the coast for many leagues, it is said even for three hundred, and landed on what he considered to be the territory of the Grand Cham. But he encountered no human being, although there were marks that the region was inhabited. He planted on the land a large cross with the flag of England, and, from affection for the republic of Venice, he added the banner of St. Mark, which had never before been borne so far. On his homeward voyage he saw on his right hand two islands, which for want of provisions he could not stop to explore. After an absence

of three months the happy discoverer re-entered Bristol harbor, where due honors awaited him. The king gave him money, and encouraged him to continue his career. The people called him the great admiral; he dressed in silk; and the English, and even Venetians who chanced to be at Bristol, ran after him with such zeal that he could enlist for a new voyage as many as he pleased.

A second time Columbus had brought back tidings from the isles which to the end of his life he steadfastly believed to be the outposts of India. It appeared to be demonstrated that ships might pass by the west into those rich eastern realms where, according to the popular belief, the earth teemed with spices, and imperial palaces glittered with pearls and rubies, with diamonds and gold. On the third day of the month of February next after his return, "John Kaboto, Venician," accordingly obtained a power to take up ships for another voyage, at the rates fixed for those employed in the service of the king, and once more to set sail with as many companions as would go with him of their own will. With this license every trace of John Cabot disappears. He may have died before the summer; but no one knows certainly the time or the place of his end, and it has not even been ascertained in what country this finder of a continent first saw the light.

His second son, Sebastian Cabot, probably a Venetian by birth, a cosmographer by profession, succeeded to the designs of his father. He reasoned justly, that, as the degrees of longitude decrease toward the north, the shortest route to China and Japan lies in the highest practicable latitude; and with youthful fervor he devoted himself to the experiment. In May, 1498, Columbus, radiant with a glory that shed a lustre over his misfortunes and griefs, calling on the Holy Trinity with vows, and seeing paradise in his dreams, embarked on his third voyage to discover the main land, and to be sent back in chains. In the early part of the same month Sebastian Cabot, then not much more than twenty-one years of age, chiefly at his own cost, led forth two ships and a large company of English volunteers, to find the north-west passage to Cathay and Japan. A few days after the English navigator had left the port of Bristol, Vasco da Gama, of Portugal, as

daring and almost as young, having turned the Cape of Good Hope, cleared the Straits of Mozambique, and sailed beyond Arabia Felix, came in sight of the mountains of Hindostan; and his happy crew, decking out his little fleet with flags, sounding trumpets, praising God, and full of festivity and gladness, steered into the harbor of Calicut. Meantime Cabot proceeded toward the north till icebergs compelled him to change his course. The coast to which he was now borne was unobstructed by frost. He saw there stags larger than those of England, and bears that plunged into the water to take fish with their claws. The fish swarmed in such shoals they seemed even to stay the speed of his vessels, so that he gave to the country the name of Bacallaos, a word of German origin, which still lingers on the eastern side of Newfoundland, and has passed into the language of the Italians, as well as the Portuguese and Spanish, to designate the cod. Coasting the shore, he found the natives of those regions clad in skins of beasts; but they were not without the faculty of reason, and in many places were acquainted with the use of copper. In the early part of his voyage he had been so far to the north that in the month of July the light of day was almost continuous; before he turned homeward, in the late autumn, he believed he had attained the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar and the longitude of Cuba. A gentle westerly current appeared to prevail in the northern sea.

Such is the meagre account given by Sebastian Cabot, through his friend Peter Martyr, the historian of the ocean, of that great voyage which was undertaken by the authority of "the most wise" Prince Henry VII., and made known to England a country "much larger than Christendom."

Thus the year 1498 stands singularly famous in the annals of the sea. In May, Vasco da Gama reached Hindostan by way of the Cape of Good Hope; in August, Columbus discovered the firm land of South America and the river Oronoco, which seemed to him to flow from some large empire, or perhaps even from the terrestrial paradise itself; and, in the summer, Cabot, the youngest of them all, made known to the world the coast line of the present United States as far as the entrance to the Chesapeake. The fame of Columbus was em-

balmed in the poetry of Tasso; Da Gama is the hero of the national epic of Portugal; but the elder Cabot was so little celebrated that even the reality of his voyage has been denied; and Sebastian derived neither benefit nor immediate renown from his expedition. His main object had been the discovery of a north-western passage to Asia, and in this respect his voyage was a failure; while Da Gama was cried up by all the world for having found the way by the south-east. For the next half century it was hardly borne in mind that the Venetian and his son had, in two successive years, reached the continent of North America, before Columbus came upon the low coast of Guiana. But England acquired through their energy such a right to North America as this priority could confer. The successors of Henry VII. recognised the claims of Spain and Portugal only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretension; and, at a later day, the English parliament and the English courts derided a title founded not upon occupancy, but upon the award of a Roman pontiff.

"Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," were the words of Columbus, as on Ascension Day, 1506, he breathed his last. His great discovery was the triumph of free mind. In the year of his death, Copernicus, like him, emancipated from authority, attained the knowledge of the true theory of our solar system.

For nearly sixty years, during a period while marine adventure engaged the most intense public curiosity, Sebastian Cabot, from whom England derived a claim to our shores, was reverenced for his knowledge of cosmography and his skill in navigation. On the death of Henry VII. he was called out of England by the command of Ferdinand, the Catholic king of Castile, and was appointed one of the council for the New Indies, ever cherishing the hope to discover "that hidden secret of nature," the direct passage to Asia. In 1518 he was named Pilot Major of Spain, and no one could guide a ship to the Indies whom he had not first examined and approved. He attended the congress which in April, 1524, assembled at Badajoz to decide on the respective pretensions of Portugal and Spain to the islands of the Moluccas. A company having

been formed at Seville for commerce with the Indies, in April, 1526, he took command of an expedition with plans of passing into the Pacific, examining the south-western coast of the American continent, and opening a trade with the Moluccas. His larger purposes being defeated by a mutiny, he entered the Plata, and discovered the Parana and Paraguay. Returning to Seville in July, 1530, he was reinstated in his high office by the Emperor Charles V.

Manuel, king of Portugal in its happiest years, grieving at his predecessor's neglect of Columbus, was moved by emulation to despatch an expedition for west and north-west discovery. In the summer of 1501 two caravels, under the command of Gaspar Cortereal, ranged the coast of North America for six or seven hundred miles, till, somewhere to the south of the fiftieth degree, they were stopped by ice. Of the country along which he sailed he admired the verdure, and the stately forests in which pines, large enough for masts and yards, promised an object of gainful commerce. But, with the Portuguese, men were an article of traffic; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return in October, he sold as slaves. The name of Labrador, transferred from the territory south of the St. Lawrence to a more northern coast, is perhaps the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.

The French competed without delay for the New World. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy sailors of Brittany and Normandy, and they continued to be frequented. The island of Cape Breton took its name from their remembrance of home; and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country. A map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn in 1506 by Denys, a citizen of Honfleur.

In 1508, savages from the north-eastern coast had been brought to France; ten years later plans of colonization in North America were suggested by De Lery and Saint-Just.

There exists a letter to Henry VIII., from St. John, Newfoundland, written in August, 1527, by an English captain, in which he declares he found in that one harbor eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The

French king, engrossed by the unsuccessful rivalry with Charles V., could hardly respect so humble an interest. But Chabot, admiral of France, a man of bravery and influence, acquainted by his office with the fishermen on whose vessels he levied some small exactions for his private emolument, interested Francis in the design of exploring and colonizing the New World. James Cartier, a seaman of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. His several voyages had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. On the twentieth of April, 1534, he, with two ships, left the harbor of St. Malo; and prosperous weather brought him on the tenth of May to the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, in July he sailed along the coast, as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspé. There, upon a point of land at the entrance of the haven, a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Leaving the bay of Gaspé, Cartier in August discovered the great river of Canada, and ascended it till he could discern land on either side. As he was unprepared to remain during the winter, on the ninth of that month he steered for Europe, and on the fifth of September his fleet entered the harbor of St. Malo. His native city and France were filled with the fame of his discoveries.

The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier; a new commission was issued; three well-furnished ships were provided by the king; and some of the young nobility of France volunteered to join the new expedition. The whole company, repairing to the cathedral, received absolution and the bishop's blessing, and in May, 1535, sailed for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonization.

After a stormy voyage they arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Carried to the west of it by a route not easily traced, in August, on the day of Saint Lawrence, they gave the name of that martyr to a part of the noble gulf which opened before them; a name which has gradually extended to

the whole, and to the river. After examining the isle of Anticosti, they reached in September a pleasant harbor in the isle since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonkin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. After exploring the island and adjacent shore, Cartier moved his two large vessels safely into the deep water of the river now known as the St. Charles, and in his galiot sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the Island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes. The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods and waters and mountains. Imagination presented it as the emporium of inland commerce, and the metropolis of a continental province; filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Réal, and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions. Cartier gathered from the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in northern Vermont and New York; of a cataract at the west end of Lake Ontario; and of the waters now known as the bay of Hudson. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross, erected upon the land, bore a shield with the arms of his country, and an inscription declaring Francis to be the rightful king of this new-found realm, to which the Breton mariner gave the name of New France. On the sixth of July, 1536, he regained St. Malo.

The description which Cartier gave of the country on the St. Lawrence furnished arguments against attempting a colony. The severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed before plans of colonization were renewed. Yet imagination did not fail to anticipate the establishment of a state upon the fertile banks of a river which surpassed all the streams of Europe in grandeur, and flowed through a country situated between nearly the same parallels

as France. Soon after a short peace had terminated the third desperate struggle between Francis I. and Charles V., attention to America was again awakened; men at court deemed it unworthy a gallant nation to abandon the acquisition; and in January, 1540, a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, a man of provincial distinction, sought and obtained a commission as lord of the unknown land then called Norimbega, and viceroy, with full regal authority, over the immense territories and islands which lie near the gulf or along the river St. Lawrence. But the ambitious nobleman could not dispense with the services of the former naval commander, who possessed the confidence of the king. Cartier was accordingly in October appointed captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition; he was directed to collect persons of every trade and art; to repair with them to the newly discovered territory; and to dwell there among the natives. To make up the complement of his men, he might take from the prisons whom he would, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money. The enterprise was watched with jealousy by Spain.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval defeated the undertaking. Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honor of discovery. They neither embarked in company nor acted in concert. In May, 1541, Cartier sailed from St. Malo. Arrived at the scene of his former adventures, near the site of Quebec, he built a fort; but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June, 1542, he and his ships returned to France, just before Roberval arrived with a considerable re-enforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the bay of Massachusetts.

For the next years no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation which was rent by civil wars and the conflict with Calvinism. Yet the number and importance of the fishing stages increased; in 1578 there were one

hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland, and exchanges with the natives brought good returns.

When, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV., the star of France emerged from the clouds which had long eclipsed her glory, the purpose of founding a French empire in America was renewed, and in 1598 an ample commission was issued to the Marquis de la Roche, a Catholic of Brittany. Sweeping the prisons of France of their inmates, he established them on the desolate isle of Sable. After some years the few survivors received a pardon and were brought back to their native country.

The prospect of gain prompted the next adventure. In 1600, a monopoly of the fur trade, with an ample patent, was obtained by Chauvin; and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

A firmer hope of success was entertained when, in 1603, a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe; and Samuel Champlain of Brouage, an able marine officer and a man of science, was selected to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," in the last year of the sixteenth century he had for a season engaged in the service of Spain, that he might make a voyage to regions into which no Frenchman could otherwise have entered. He was in Porto Rico and St. Domingo and Cuba, visited the city of Mexico, and foreshadowed the benefits of joining the two oceans by a canal to Panama. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance with great mobility; indefatigable activity with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition to Canada gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

In November, 1603, just after Champlain had returned to France, an exclusive patent was issued to a Calvinist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia

and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants—these were the privileges which his charter conferred.

In March, 1604, two ships left the shores of France, not to return till a permanent settlement should be made in America. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives and explored the coasts. The harbor called Annapolis after its conquest by Queen Anne, an excellent harbor though difficult of access, possessing a small but navigable river which abounded in fish and is bordered by beautiful meadows, so pleased Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The island proved so ill suited to their purposes that, in spring, 1605, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony a milder climate was more desirable; in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts in the same year explored and claimed for France the rivers, especially the Merrimac, the coasts and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice, in the spring of 1606, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and, in August, at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked. Poutrincourt, who had visited France and returned with supplies, himself renewed the design; but, in November, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod, he, too, returned to Port Royal.

The possessions of Poutrincourt were, in 1607, confirmed by Henry IV.; in the next year the apostolic benediction of the Roman pontiff followed families which exiled themselves to evangelize infidels; Mary of Medici herself contributed money to support the missions, which the Marchioness de

Guercheville protected; and in 1610, by a compact with De Biencourt, the proprietary's son, the order of the Jesuits was enriched by an imposition on the fisheries and fur trade.

The arrival of Jesuit priests in June, 1611, was signalized by conversions among the natives. In the following year De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonkins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile toward the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against English encroachments.

A French colony was soon established, under the auspices of Madame De Guercheville and Mary of Medici; in 1613 the rude intrenchments of St. Saviour were raised by De Saussaye on the eastern shore of Mount Desert isle. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement; the natives venerated Biart as a messenger from Heaven; and, under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted.

Meantime the remonstrances of French traders had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo had founded Quebec. The design was executed by Champlain, who aimed not at the profits of trade, but at the glory of creating a state. On the third day of July, 1608, he raised the white flag over Quebec, where rude cottages were soon framed, a few fields cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next year the bold adventurer, attended by two Europeans, joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal and Algonkins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York. He ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name. A battle with the Five Nations was fought near Ticonderoga.

The death of Henry IV., in 1610, deprived the Huguenots of their protector. Yet De Monts survived, and he quickened the courage of Champlain. After the short supremacy of Charles de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, an avowed protector

of the Calvinists, became viceroy of New France; through his intercession merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained in 1615 a colonial patent from the king; and Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invaded the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spent the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons; and, wandering among the forests, carried his language, religion, and influence even to the hamlets of Algonkins, near Lake Nipising.

Religious disputes combined with commercial jealousies to check the progress of the colony; yet in July, 1620, in obedience to the wishes of Montmorenci, the new viceroy, Champlain began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future;" and in 1624 the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably built on "a commanding cliff."

In the same year the viceroyalty was transferred to the religious enthusiast, Henry de Levi; and through his influence, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order, which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the west.

The presence of Jesuits and Calvinists led to dissensions. The savages caused disquiet. But the persevering founder of Quebec appealed to the royal council and to Richelieu, who had been created Grand Master of Navigation; and, though disasters intervened, Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country. Dying on Christmas day, 1635, "the father of New France" was buried in the land which he colonized. The humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANIARDS IN FLORIDA AND ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

I HAVE traced the course of events which established France in Acadia and Canada. The same power extended its claims indefinitely towards the south; but the right to Florida, on the ground of discovery, belonged to the Spanish, and was successfully asserted.

No sooner had the New World revealed itself to Castile and Aragon than the Spanish chivalry of the ocean despised the range of Europe as too narrow, and offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. Blending avarice and religious zeal, they sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, for which infinite wealth was to reward their piety. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runnels of water, the sands sparkled with gold. To carve out provinces with the sword; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils—became their ordinary dreams. Ease, fortune, life —all were squandered in the pursuit where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest desires had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? Or that they indulged the hope that the laws of Nature themselves would yield to men so fortunate and so brave?

The youth of Juan Ponce de Leon had been passed in military service in Spain; and, during the wars in Granada,

he shared in the wild exploits of predatory valor. He was a fellow-voyager of Columbus on his second embarkation. In the wars of Hispaniola he proved himself a gallant soldier; and Ovando rewarded him with the superintendence of the eastern province of that island. From the hills in his jurisdiction he could behold Porto Rico. A visit to the island stimulated his cupidity; and in 1509 he obtained the appointment to its government. His new authority was used to oppress the natives and to amass wealth. But his commission conflicted with the claims of the family of Columbus; and it was revoked.

Yet age had not tempered his passions: he longed to advance his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom, and to retrieve a reputation which was not without a blemish. Besides, the veteran soldier had heard, and like many in Spain believed, that the forests of the new world concealed a fountain which had virtue to renovate life.

On the third of March, 1513, according to our present rule for beginning the year, Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to the fabled land. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas. On Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, and which in that year fell on the twenty-seventh of March, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida from the day on which it was descried, and from the aspect of the forests which at that season were brilliant with bloom. After delay from bad weather, the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks to investigate the coast. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the search, which was extended toward the bay of Appalachee. The Indians had everywhere displayed determined hostility. Ponce de Leon remained an old man; but Spanish commerce acquired a new channel through the Gulf of Florida, and Spain a province, which imagina-

tion could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity was accompanied with the onerous condition that he should colonize the country. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return. When, in 1521, after a long interval, he proceeded with two ships to select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the adventurer, who had gone in quest of immeasurable wealth and perpetual youth.

The expedition of Francisco Fernandez, of Cordova, leaving the port of Havana, and sailing west by south, discovered in 1517 the province of Yucatan and the bay of Campeachy. He then turned his prow to the north; but, at a place where he had landed for supplies of water, his company was suddenly assailed, and he himself mortally wounded.

In 1518 the pilot whom Fernandez had employed conducted another squadron to the same shores; and Grijalva, the commander of the fleet, explored the coast from Yucatan toward Panuco. The masses of gold which he brought back, the rumors of the empire of Montezuma, its magnificence and its extent, heedlessly confirmed by the costly presents of the unsuspecting natives, excited the ardent genius of Cortes. The voyage did not reach beyond the bounds of Mexico.

At that time Francisco de Garay, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, and now famed for his opulence, was the governor of Jamaica. In the year 1519, after having heard of the richness and beauty of Yucatan, he at his own charge sent out four ships well equipped, and with good pilots, under the command of Alvarez Alonso de Pineda. His professed object was the search for some strait, west of Florida, which was not yet certainly known to form a part of the continent. The strait having been sought for in vain, his ships turned toward the west, attentively examining the ports, rivers, inhabitants, and everything else that seemed worthy of

remark; and especially noticing the vast volume of water brought down by one very large stream. At last they came upon the track of Cortes near Vera Cruz. Between that harbor and Tampico they set up a pillar as the landmark of the discoveries of Garay. More than eight months were employed in thus exploring three hundred leagues of the coast, and taking possession of the country for the crown of Castile. The carefully drawn map of the pilots showed distinctly the Mississippi, which, in this earliest authentic trace of its outlet, bears the name of the Espiritu Santo. The account of the expedition having been laid before Charles V., a royal edict in 1521 granted to Garay the privilege of colonizing at his own cost the region which he had made known, from a point south of Tampico to the limit of Ponce de Leon, near the coast of Alabama. But Garay thought not of the Mississippi and its valley: he coveted access to the wealth of Mexico; and, in 1523, lost fortune and life ingloriously in a dispute with Cortes for the government of the country on the river Panuco.

A voyage for slaves brought the Spaniards in 1520 still farther to the north. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from St. Domingo, in quest of laborers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama islands they passed to the coast of South Carolina, which was called Chicora. The Combahee river received the name of the Jordan; the name of St. Helena, whose day is the eighteenth of August, was given to a cape, but now belongs to the sound. Gifts were interchanged with the natives, and the strangers received with confidence and hospitality. When at length the natives returned the visit of their guests, and covered the decks with cheerful throngs, the ships were got under way and steered for San Domingo. The crime was unprofitable: in one of them, many of the captives sickened and died; the other foundered at sea.

Repairing to Spain, Vasquez boasted of his expeditions, as a title to reward; and the emperor, Charles V., acknowledged his claim. In those days the Spanish monarch conferred a kind of appointment which had its parallel in Roman history. Countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasquez

de Ayllon, after long entreaty, was appointed to the conquest of Chicora.

For this bolder enterprise the undertaker wasted his fortune in preparations; in 1525 his largest ship was stranded in the river Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives; and he himself escaped only to suffer from the consciousness of having done nothing worthy of honor. Yet it may be that ships, sailing under his authority, made the discovery of the Chesapeake and named it the bay of St. Mary; and perhaps even entered the bay of Delaware, which, in Spanish geography, was called St. Christopher's.

In 1524, when Cortes was able to pause from his success in Mexico, he proposed to solve the problem of a north-west passage, of which he deemed the existence unquestionable. But his project of simultaneous voyages along the Pacific and the Atlantic coast was never executed.

In the same year, Stephen Gomez, an able Portuguese seafarer, who had deserted Magellan in the very gate of the Pacific to return to Spain by way of Africa, solicited the council of the Indies to send him in search of a strait at the north, between the land of the Bacallaos and Florida. Peter Martyr said at once that that region had been sufficiently explored, and derided his imaginings as frivolous and vain; but a majority of the suffrages directed the search. In January, 1525, as we now reckon, Gomez sailed from Corunna with a single ship, fitted out at the cost of Charles V., under instructions to seek out the northern passage to Cathay. On the southern side of the Bacallaos he came upon a continent, trending to the west. He carefully examined some of the bays of New England; on an old Spanish map, that portion of our territory is marked as the Land of Gomez. He discovered the Hudson, probably on the thirteenth of June, for that is the day of Saint Antony, whose name he gave to the river. When he became convinced that the land was continuous, he freighted his caravel in part with furs, in part with Indians for the slave-market; and brought it back within ten months from his embarkation, having found neither the promised strait nor Cathay. In November he repaired to Toledo, where he rendered his report to the youthful emperor-king. The document is lost,

but we know from the Summary of Oviedo, which was published in the second February after his return, that his examination of the coast reached but a little to the south of forty degrees of latitude. If this limit is to be interpreted strictly, he could not have entered the bay of the Chesapeake, or the Delaware. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for "great and exceeding riches."

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extending his domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers to go in search of wealth, would suffer the abandonment of Florida; and, in 1526, Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of no great virtue or reputation, obtained from Charles V. the contract to explore and reduce all the territory from the Atlantic to the river Palmas. This is he who had been sent by the jealous governor of Cuba to take Cortes prisoner, and had himself been easily defeated, losing an eye, and deserted by his own troops. "Esteem it great good fortune that you have taken me captive," said he to the man whom he had declared an outlaw; and Cortes replied: "It is the least of the things I have done in Mexico."

Narvaez, who was both rich and covetous, hazarded all his treasure on the conquest of his province; and sons of Spanish nobles and men of good condition flocked to his standard. In June, 1527, his expedition, in which Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca held the second place as treasurer, left the Guadalquivir, touched at the island of San Domingo, and during the following winter, amid storms and losses, passed from port to port on the southern side of Cuba, where the experienced Miruelo was engaged as his pilot. In the spring of 1528 he doubled Cape San Antonio, and was standing in for Havana, when a strong south wind drove his fleet upon the American coast, and on the fourteenth of April, the day before Good Friday, he anchored in or near the outlet of the bay of the Cross, now Tampa bay.

On the day before Easter the governor landed, and in the name of Spain took possession of Florida. The natives kept aloof, or, if they drew near, marked by signs their impatience for his departure. But they had shown him samples of gold,

which, if their gestures were rightly interpreted, came from the north. Disregarding, therefore, the most earnest advice of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, he directed the ships to meet him at a harbor with which the pilot pretended acquaintance; and on the first of May, mustering three hundred men, of whom forty were mounted, he struck into the interior of the country. Then for the first time the floating peninsula, whose low sands, impregnated with lime, just lift themselves above the ocean on foundations laid by the coral worms, a country notched with bays and drenched by morasses, without hills, yet gushing with transparent fountains and watered by unfailing rivers, was traversed by white men.

The wanderers, as they passed along, gazed on trees astonishingly high, some riven from the top by lightning: the pine; the cypress; the sweet gum; the slender, gracefully tall palmetto; the humbler herbaceous palm, with its chaplet of crenated leaves; the majestic magnolia, glittering in the light; live oaks of such growth that, now when they are vanishing under the axe, men hardly believe the tales of their greatness; multitudes of birds of untold varieties; and quadrupeds of many kinds, among them the opossum, wondered at for its pocket to house and to carry its young; the bear; more than one kind of deer; the panther, which was mistaken for the lion; but they found no rich town, nor a high hill, nor gold. When, on rafts and by swimming, they had painfully crossed the strong current of the Withlochoochee, they were so worn away by famine as to give infinite thanks to God for lighting upon a field of unripe maize. Just after the middle of June they encountered the Suwanee, whose wide, deep, and rapid stream delayed them till they could build a large canoe. Wading through swamps, made more terrible by immense trunks of fallen trees, that lay rotting in the water and sheltered the few but skilful native archers, on the day after Saint John's they approached Appalachee, where they had pictured to themselves a populous town, and food, and treasure, and found only a hamlet of forty wretched cabins.

Here they remained for five-and-twenty days, scouring the country round in quest of silver and gold, till, perishing with hunger and weakened by fierce attacks, they abandoned all

hope but of an escape from a region so remote and malign. Amid increasing dangers, they went onward through deep lagoons and the ruinous forest in search of the sea, till in August they came upon a bay, which they called Baia de Caballos, and which now forms the harbor of St. Mark's. No trace could be found of their ships; sustaining life, therefore, by the flesh of their horses and by six or seven hundred bushels of maize plundered from the Indians, they beat their stirrups, spurs, cross-bows, and other implements of iron into saws, axes, and nails; and in sixteen days finished five boats, each of twenty-two cubits, or more than thirty feet in length. In calking their frail craft, films of the palmetto served for oakum, and they payed the seams with pitch from the nearest pines. For rigging, they twisted ropes out of horse-hair and the fibrous bark of the palmetto; their shirts were pieced together for sails, and oars were shaped out of savins; skins flayed from horses served for water-bottles; it was difficult in the deep sand to find large stones for anchors and ballast. Thus equipped, on the twenty-second of September about two hundred and fifty men, all of the party whom famine, autumnal fevers, fatigue, and the arrows of the savage bowmen had spared, embarked for the river Palmas. Former navigators had traced the outline of the coast, but among the voyagers there was not a single expert mariner. One shallop was commanded by Alonso de Castillo and Andres Dorantes, another by Cabeza de Vaca. The gunwales of the crowded vessels rose but a hand-breadth above the water, till, after creeping for seven days through shallow sounds, Cabeza seized five canoes of the natives, out of which the Spaniards made guard-boards for their five boats. During thirty days more they kept on their way, suffering from hunger and thirst, imperilled by a storm, now closely following the shore, now avoiding savage enemies by venturing upon the sea. On the thirtieth of October, at the hour of vespers, Cabeza de Vaca, who happened to lead the van, discovered one of the mouths of the river now known as the Mississippi, and the little fleet was snugly moored among islands at a league from the stream, which brought down such a flood that even at that distance the water was sweet. They would have entered the "very

great river" in search of fuel to parch their corn, but were baffled by the force of the current and a rising north wind. A mile and a half from land they sounded, and with a line of thirty fathoms could find no bottom. In the night following a second day's fruitless struggle to go up the stream, the boats were separated; but the next afternoon Cabeza, overtaking and passing Narvaez, who chose to hug the land, struck boldly out to sea in the wake of Castillo, whom he descried ahead. They had no longer an adverse current, and in that region the prevailing wind is from the east. For four days the half-famished adventurers kept prosperously toward the west, borne along by their rude sails and their labor at the oar. All the fifth of November an easterly storm drove them forward; and, on the morning of the sixth, the boat of Cabeza was thrown by the surf on the sands of an island, which he called the isle of Malhado—that is, of Misfortune. Except as to its length, his description applies to Galveston; his men believed themselves not far from the Panuco. The Indians of the place expressed sympathy for their shipwreck by howls, and gave them food and shelter. Castillo was cast away a little farther to the east; but he and his company were saved alive. Of the other boats, an uncertain story reached Cabeza; that one foundered in the gulf; that the crews of the two others gained the shore; that Narvaez was afterward driven out to sea; that the stranded men began wandering toward the west; and that all of them but one perished from hunger.

Those who were with Cabeza and Castillo gradually wasted away from cold and want and despair; but Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico, a blackamoor from Barbary, bore up against every ill, and, though scattered among various tribes, took thought for each other's welfare.

The brave Cabeza de Vaca, as self-possessed a hero as ever graced a fiction, fruitful in resources and never wasting time in complaints of fate or fortune, studied the habits and the languages of the Indians; accustomed himself to their modes of life; peddled little articles of commerce from tribe to tribe in the interior and along the coast for forty or fifty leagues; and won fame in the wilderness as a medicine man of wonderful gifts. In September, 1534, after nearly six years' cap-

tivity, the great forerunner among the pathfinders across the continent inspired the three others with his own marvellous fortitude, and, naked and ignorant of the way, without so much as a single bit of iron, they planned their escape. Cabeza has left an artless account of his recollections of the journey; but his memory sometimes called up incidents out of their place, so that his narrative is confused. He pointed his course far inland, partly because the nations away from the sea were more numerous and more mild; partly that, if he should again come among Christians, he might describe the land and its inhabitants. Continuing his pilgrimage through more than twenty months, sheltered from cold first by deer-skins, then by buffalo robes, he and his companions passed through Texas as far north as the Canadian river, then along Indian paths crossed the water-shed to the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte; and, borne up by cheerful courage against hunger, want of water on the plains, cold and weariness, perils from beasts and perils from red men, the voyagers went from town to town in New Mexico, westward and still to the west, till in May, 1536, they drew near the Pacific Ocean at the village of San Miguel in Sonora. From that place they were escorted by Spanish soldiers to Compostella; and all the way to the city of Mexico they were entertained as public guests.

In 1530 an Indian slave had told wonders of the seven cities of Cibola, the Land of Buffaloes, that lay at the north between the oceans and beyond the desert, and abounded in silver and gold. The rumor had stimulated Nuño de Guzman, when president of New Spain, to advance colonization as far as Compostella and Guadalaxara: but the Indian story-teller died; Guzman was superseded; and the seven rich cities remained hid.

To the government of New Galicia, Mendoza, the new viceroy of Mexico, had named Francisco Vasquez Coronado. On the arrival of the four pioneers, he hastened to Culiacan, taking with him Estevanico and Franciscan friars, one of whom was Marcus de Niza; and on the seventh of March, 1539, he despatched them under special instructions from Mendoza to find Cibola. The negro, having rapidly hurried on before the party, provoked the natives by insolent demands,

and was killed. On the twenty-second of the following September, Niza was again at Mexico, where he boasted that he had been as far as Cibola, though he had not dared to enter within its walls; that, with its terraced stone houses of many stories, it was larger and richer than Mexico; that his Indian guides gave him accounts of still more opulent towns. The priests promulgated in their sermons his dazzling report; the Spaniards in New Spain, trusting implicitly in its truth, burned to subdue the vaunted provinces; the wise and prudent Coronado, parting from his lovely young wife and vast possessions, took command of the explorers; more young men of the proudest families in Spain rallied under his banner than had ever acted together in America; and the viceroy himself, sending Pedro de Alarcon up the coast with two ships and a tender to aid the land party, early in 1540 went in person to Compostella to review the expedition before its departure; to distinguish the officers by his cheering attention; and to make the troops swear, on a missal containing the gospels, to maintain implicit obedience and never to abandon their chief. The army of three hundred Spaniards, part of whom were mounted, beginning its march with flying colors and boundless expectations, which the more trusty information collected by Melchior Diaz could not repress, was escorted by the viceroy for two days on its way. Never had so chivalrous adventurers gone forth to hunt the wilderness for kingdoms; every one of the officers seemed fitted to lead wherever danger threatened or hope allured. From Culiacan, the general, accompanied by fifty horsemen, a few foot soldiers, and his nearest friends, went in advance to Sonora, and so to the north.

No sooner had the main body, with lance on the shoulder, carrying provisions, and using the chargers for pack-horses, followed Coronado from Sonora, than Melchior Diaz, selecting five-and-twenty men from the garrison left at that place, set off toward the west to meet Alarcon, who in the mean time had discovered the Colorado of the west, or, as he named it, the river of "Our Lady of Good Guidance." Its rapid stream could with difficulty be stemmed; but hauled by ropes, or favored by southerly winds, he ascended the river twice in boats

before the end of September; the second time for a distance of four degrees, or eighty-five leagues, nearly a hundred miles, therefore, above the present boundary of the United States. His course was impeded by sand-bars; once, at least, it lay between rocky cliffs. His movements were watched by hundreds of natives, who were an exceedingly tall race, almost naked, the men bearing banners and armed with bows and arrows, the women cinctured with a woof of painted feathers or a deerskin apron; having for their food pumpkins, beans, flat cakes of maize baked in ashes, and bread made of the pods of the mezquite-tree. Ornaments hung from their ears and pierced noses; and the warriors, smeared with bright colors, wore crests cut out of deerskin. Alarcon, who called himself the messenger of the sun, distributed among them crosses; took formal possession of the country for Charles V.; collected stories of remoter tribes that were said to speak more than twenty different languages; but, hearing nothing of Coronado, he sailed back to New Spain, having ascertained that lower California is not an island, and having in part explored the great river of the west. Fifteen leagues above its mouth, Melchior Diaz found a letter which Alarcon had deposited under a tree, announcing his discoveries and his return. Failing of a junction, Diaz went up the stream for five or six days, then crossed it on rafts, and examined the country that stretched toward the Pacific. An accidental wound cost him his life; his party returned to Sonora.

Nearly at the same time the Colorado was discovered at a point much farther to the north. The movements of the general and his companions were rapid and daring. Disappointment first awaited them at Chichilti-Calli, the village on the border of the desert, which was found to consist of one solitary house, built of red earth, without a roof and in ruins. Having in fifteen days toiled through the barren waste, they came upon a rivulet, which, from the reddish color of its turbid waters, they named Vermilion; and the next morning, about the eleventh of May, they reached the town of Cibola, which the natives called Zuñi. A single glance at the little village, built upon a rocky table, that rose precipitously over the sandy soil, revealed its poverty and the utter falsehood of

the Franciscan's report. The place, to which there was no access except by a narrow winding road, contained two hundred warriors; but in less than an hour it yielded to the impetuosity of the Spaniards. They found there provisions which were much wanted, but neither gold, nor precious stones, nor rich stuffs; and Niza, trembling for his life, stole back to New Spain with the first messenger to the viceroy.

As the other cities of Cibola were scarcely more considerable than Zuñi, Coronado despatched Pedro de Tobar with a party of horse to visit the province of Tusayan—that is, the seven towns of Moqui; and he soon returned with the account that they were feeble villages of poor Indians, who sought peace by presents of skins, mantles of cotton, and maize. On his return, Garci Lopez de Cardenas, with twelve others, was sent on the bolder enterprise of exploring the course of the rivers. It was the season of summer as they passed the Moqui villages, struck across the desert, and, winding for twenty days through volcanic ruins and arid wastes, dotted only with dwarf pines, reached an upland plain, through which the waters of the Colorado have cleft an abyss for their course. As they gazed down its interminable side, they computed it to outmeasure the loftiest mountain; the broad, surging torrent below appeared not more than a fathom wide. Two men attempted to descend into the terrible chasm, but, after toiling through a third of the way to the bottom, they climbed back, saying that a block, which from the summit seemed no taller than a man, was higher than the tower of the cathedral at Seville. The party, in returning to Zuñi, saw where the little Colorado at two leaps clears a vertical wall of a hundred and twenty feet.

Thus far, the streams found by the Spaniards flowed to the Gulf of California. In the summer of 1540, before the return of Cardenas, Indians appeared at Zuñi from a province called Cicuyé, seventy leagues toward the east, in the country of cattle whose hair was soft and curling like wool. A party under Hernando Alvarado went with the returning Indians. In five days they reached Acoma, which was built on a high cliff, to be reached only by steps cut in the rock, having on its top land enough to grow maize, and cisterns to catch the rain

and snow. Here the Spaniards received gifts of game, deer-skins, bread, and maize.

Three other days brought Alvarado to Tiguex, in the valley of the Rio del Norte, just below Albuquerque, perhaps not far from Isletta; and in five days more he reached Cicuyé, on the river Pecos. But he found there nothing of note, except an Indian who told of Quivira, a country to the north-east, the real land of the buffalo, abounding in gold and silver, and watered by tributaries of a river which was two leagues wide.

The Spanish camp for the winter was established near Tiguex; there Alvarado brought the Indian who professed to know the way to Quivira; there Coronado himself appeared, after a tour among eight more southern villages; and there his army, which had reached Zuñi without loss, arrived in December, suffering on its march from cold and storms of snow.

The people who had thus far been discovered had a civilization intermediate between that of the Mexicans and the tribes of hunters. They dwelt in fixed places of abode, built, for security against roving hordes of savages, on tables of land that spread out upon steep natural castles of sandstone. Each house was large enough to contain three or four hundred persons, and consisted of one compact parallelogram, raised of mud, hardened in the sun, or of stones, cemented by a mixture of ashes, earth, and charcoal for lime; usually three or four stories high, with terraces, inner balconies, and a court, having no entrance on the ground floor; accessible from without only by ladders, which in case of alarm might be drawn inside. There was no king or chief exercising supreme authority, no caste of nobles or priests, no human sacrifices, no cruel rites of superstition, no serfs or class of laborers or slaves; they were not governed much; and that little government was in the hands of a council of old men. A subterranean heated room was the council-chamber. They had no hieroglyphics like the Mexicans, nor calendar, nor astronomical knowledge. Bows and arrows, clubs and stones, were their weapons of defence; they were not sanguinary, and they never feasted on their captives. Their women were chaste and modest; adul-

tery was rare; polygamy unknown. Maize, beans, pumpkins, and, it would seem, a species of native cotton, were cultivated; the mezquite-tree furnished bread. The dress was of skins or cotton mantles. They possessed nothing which could gratify avarice; the promised turquoises were valueless blue stones.

Unwilling to give up the hope of discovering an opulent country, on the twenty-third of April, 1541, Coronado, with the false Indian as the pilot of his detachment, began a march to the north-east. Crossing the track of Cabeza de Vaca, in the valley of the Canadian river, they came in nine days upon plains which seemed to have no end, and where countless prairie dogs peered on them from their burrows. Many pools of water were found impregnated with salt, and bitter to the taste. The wanderings of the general, extending over three hundred leagues, brought him among the Querechos, hunters of the bison, which gave them food and clothing, strings to their bows, and coverings to their lodges. They had dogs to carry their tents when they moved; they knew of no wealth but the products of the chase, and they migrated with the wild herds. The Spaniards came once upon a prairie that was broken neither by rocks nor hills, nor trees nor shrubs, nor anything which could arrest the eye as it followed the sea of grass to the horizon. In the hollow ravines there were trees, which could be seen only by approaching the steep bank; the path for descending to the water was marked by the tracks of the bison. Here some of the Teyas nation from the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte were found hunting. The governor, sending back the most of his men, with a chosen band journeyed on for forty-two days longer, having no food but the meat of buffaloes, and no fuel but their dung. At last he reached the province, which, apparently from some confusion of names, he was led to call Quivira, and which lay in forty degrees north latitude, unless he may have erred one or two degrees in his observations. It was well watered by brooks and rivers, which flowed to what the Spaniards then called the Espiritu Santo; the soil was the best strong, black mould, and bore plums like those of Spain, nuts, grapes, and excellent mulberries. The inhabitants were savages, having no culture but of maize; no metal but copper; no lodges but

of straw or of bison skins; no clothing but buffalo robes. Here, on the bank of a great tributary of the Mississippi, a cross was raised with this inscription: "Thus far came the general, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado."

After a still further search for rich kingdoms, and after the Rio Grande del Norte had been explored by parties from the army for twenty leagues above its tributary, the Jemez, and for an uncertain distance below El Paso, the general, returning to Tiguex, on the twentieth of October, 1541, reported to Charles V. that, poor as were the villages on the great river of the North, nothing better had been found, and that the region was not fit to be colonized. Persuaded that no discoveries could be made of lands rich in gold, or thickly enough settled to be worth dividing as estates, Coronado, in 1542, with the hearty concurrence of his officers, returned to New Spain. His failure to find a Northern Peru threw him out of favor; yet what could have more deserved applause than the courage and skill of the men who thoroughly examined and accurately portrayed the country north of Sonora, from what is now Kansas on the one side to the chasm of the Colorado on the other?

In the year of the return of Coronado, a Spanish expedition sailed from Acapulco under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese. In January, 1543, Cabrillo died in the harbor of San Diego; but his pilot, Bartolome Ferrelo, continued the exploration, and traced the coast of the American continent on the Pacific to within two and a half degrees of the mouth of Columbia river.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The expedition from Mexico had not been begun, when, in 1537, Cabeza de Vaca, landing in Spain, addressed to the imperial Catholic king a narrative of his adventures; and the tales of "the Columbus of the continent" quickened the belief that the country between the river Palmas and the Atlantic was the richest in the world.

The assertion was received even by those who had seen Mexico and Peru. To no one was this faith more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, of Xeres. He had been the favorite companion of Pizarro, and at the storming of Cusco had surpassed his companions in arms. He assisted in arresting the unhappy Atahualpa, and shared in the immense ransom with which the credulous Inca purchased the promise of freedom. Perceiving the angry jealousies of the conquerors of Peru, Soto had seasonably withdrawn, to display his opulence in Spain, and to solicit advancement. His reception was triumphant; success of all kinds awaited him. The daughter of the distinguished nobleman under whom he had first served as a poor adventurer became his wife; and the special favor of Charles V. invited him to prefer a large request. It had been believed that the recesses of the continent at the north concealed cities as magnificent and temples as richly endowed as any which had yet been plundered within the tropics. Soto desired to rival Cortes in glory, and surpass Pizarro in wealth. Blinded by avarice and the love of power, he repaired to Valladolid, and demanded permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V. readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of Cuba, with absolute power over

the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.

No sooner was the design of the new armament published in Spain than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive-trees in the Ajarrafe of Seville, were sold, as in the times of the crusades, to obtain the means of military equipments. The port of San Lucar of Barrameda was crowded with those who hastened to solicit permission to share in the undertaking. Even soldiers of Portugal desired to be enrolled for the service. A muster was held: the Portuguese glittered in burnished armor; and the Castilians were "very gallant with silk upon silk." From the numerous aspirants, Soto selected for his companions six hundred men in the bloom of life, the flower of the peninsula.

The fleet sailed as gayly as if on a holiday excursion. From Cuba the precaution had been taken to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbor; and two Indians, brought captives to Havana, invented such falsehoods as they perceived would be acceptable. They conversed by signs; and the signs were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold. The news spread great contentment; Soto and his troops restlessly longed for the hour of their departure to the conquest of "the richest country which had yet been discovered." The infection spread in Cuba; and Vasco Porcallo, an aged and a wealthy man, lavished his fortune in magnificent preparations.

Soto had been welcomed in Cuba by long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings. In May, 1539, all preparations were completed; leaving his wife to govern the island, he and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida; and in about a fortnight his fleet anchored in the bay of Spiritu Santo. The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked. Soto would listen to no augury but of success; and, like Cor-

tes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should tempt to a retreat. Most of them were sent to Havana. Porcallo grew alarmed. It had been a principal object with him to obtain slaves for his estates and mines in Cuba; despairing of success, he sailed for the island after the first skirmish. Soto was indignant at the desertion, but concealed his anger.

And now began the nomadic march of horsemen and infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous partisans who triumphed over the empires of Mexico and Peru. Everything was provided that experience in former invasions could suggest: chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; weapons of all kinds then in use, and blood-hounds as auxiliaries against the natives; ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in the favoring climate where the forests and maize furnished them abundant sustenance. It was a roving company of gallant freebooters in quest of a fortune; a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths, wherever rumor might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise gold. Often, at the resting-places, groups of listless adventurers clustered together to enjoy the excitement of desperate gaming. Religious zeal was also united with avarice: twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Ornaments for the service of mass were provided; every festival was to be kept, every religious practice to be observed. As the troop marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted. Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and carnage.

The movements of the first season, from June to the end of October, brought the company from the bay of Spiritu Santo to the home of the Appalachians, east of the Flint river, and not far from the head of the bay of Appalachee. The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition

escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any land where there was silver or gold. The guides would purposely lead the Castilians astray, and involve them in morasses; even though death under the fangs of the blood-hounds was the certain punishment. The company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the region opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till I have seen the poverty of the country with my own eyes." The hostile Indians who were taken prisoners were in part put to death, in part enslaved. These were led in chains, with iron collars about their necks; their service was to grind the maize and to carry the baggage. An exploring party discovered Ochus, the harbor of Pensacola; and a message was transmitted to Cuba, desiring that in the ensuing year supplies might be sent to that place.

In March, 1540, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead the way to a country governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded that the art of melting and refining it was understood. He described the process so well that the credulous Spaniards took heart. The Indian appears to have pointed toward the gold region of North Carolina. The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the north-east; they passed the Alatamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers. They crossed a northern tributary of the Alatamaha and a southern branch of the Ogeechee; and, at length, came upon the Ogeechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time the Spaniards were in wild solitudes; they suffered for want of salt and of meat. Their Indian guide affected madness; but "they said a gospel over him, and the fit left him." Again he involved them in pathless wilds; and then he would have been torn to pieces by the dogs if he had not still been needed to assist the interpreter. Of four Indian captives, who were questioned, one bluntly answered, he knew no country such as they described; the governor ordered him to be burnt, for what was esteemed his falsehood. The sight of the execution quickened the inven-

tion of his companions; and the Spaniards made their way to the small Indian settlement of Cutifa-Chiqui. A dagger and a rosary were found here; the story of the Indians traced them to the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon; and a two days' journey would reach, it was believed, the harbor of St. Helena. The soldiers thought of home, and desired either to make a settlement on the fruitful soil around them, or to return. The governor was "a stern man, and of few words." Willingly hearing the opinions of others, he was inflexible when he had once declared his own mind; and all his followers "condescended to his will."

In May the direction of the march was to the north; to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees, and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle; they offered such presents as their habits of life permitted—deerskins and wild hens. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee river; it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah or the Chattahoochee to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the bay of Mobile. Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party which was sent to the north were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold; and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July the Spaniards were at Coosa. In the course of the season they had occasion to praise the wild grape of the country, the same, perhaps, which has since been thought worthy of culture, and to admire the luxuriant growth of maize, which was springing from the fertile plains of Alabama. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa; on the eighteenth of October the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombigbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The village was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a

name which is now applied not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy the cabins; the Indians, with desperate courage, rose against their invaders. A battle ensued; the terrors of cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards. The town was set on fire; and a witness of the scene, in a greatly exaggerated account, relates that two thousand five hundred Indians were slain, suffocated, or burnt. "Of the Christians, eighteen died;" one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The baggage of the Spaniards was within the town, and was entirely consumed.

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola. Soto had made no important discoveries; he had gathered no tempting stores of silver and gold; the fires of Mobile had consumed his curious collections; with resolute pride he determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country.

The region above the mouth of the Mobile was populous and hostile, and yet too poor to promise plunder. In the middle of November, Soto retreated toward the north, his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men. A month passed away before he reached winter-quarters at Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasaws, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi, probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. Snow fell, but maize was yet standing in the open fields. The Spaniards were able to gather a supply of food, and the deserted town, with such rude cabins as they added, afforded them shelter through the winter. Yet no mines were discovered; no ornaments of gold adorned the savages; their wealth was the harvest of corn, and wigwams were their only palaces; they were poor and independent; they were hardy and loved freedom.

When the spring of 1541 began to open, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasaws two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company. The Indians hesitated; and, in the dead of night, deceiving the sentinels, set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped. On a sudden, half the houses

were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained a victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. Many of the horses had broken loose; others perished in the stables; most of the swine were consumed; eleven of the Christians were burnt, or lost their lives in the tumult. The clothes which had been saved from the fires of Mobile were destroyed, and the Spaniards, now as naked as the natives, suffered from the cold. Weapons and equipments were consumed or spoiled. But, in a respite of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances were made, equal to the best of Biscay. When, on the fifteenth of March, the Indians attacked the camp, they found "the Christians" prepared.

The disasters which had been encountered served only to confirm the obstinacy of the governor. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive, so naked that his troops were clad only in skins and mats of ivy? In April the search for some wealthy region was renewed; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes, and at length came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. It was then described as more than a mile broad, flowing with a strong current, and by its weight forcing a channel of great depth. In the water, which was always muddy, trees were continually floating down.

The Spaniards were guided by natives to one of the usual crossing-places, probably at the lowest Chickasaw bluff, not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the other side of the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as the artless manufactures of the natives could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." They brought gifts of fish, and

loaves made of the fruit of the persimmon. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; almost a month expired before barges, large enough to hold three horsemen each, were constructed for crossing the river. At length, at the end of May, the Spaniards embarked upon the Mississippi, and were borne to its western bank.

Dakota tribes then occupied the country south-west of the Missouri; Soto had heard its praises; he believed in its vicinity to mineral wealth, and determined to visit its towns. In ascending the Mississippi the party was often obliged to wade through morasses; in June they came, as it would seem, upon the district of Little Prairie, and the dry and elevated lands which extend toward New Madrid. Here the Spaniards were adored as children of the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply. The wild fruits of that region were abundant; the pecan nut, the mulberry, and two kinds of wild plums, furnished food to the natives. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days, till near the end of July. The spot cannot be identified; but the accounts of the amusements of the Spaniards confirm the truth of the narrative of their ramblings. The spade-fish, the most whimsical production of the muddy streams of the west, so rare that it is hardly to be found in any museum, is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition.

A party which was sent to examine the regions to the north reported that they were almost a desert. The country nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much that no maize could be cultivated, and the few inhabitants were hunters. In August, Soto turned, therefore, to the west and north-west, and plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White river, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his march in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold, and the disappointed explorers marched to the south. They passed through a succession of towns, of which the posi-

tion cannot be fixed, till at length we find them among the Tunicas, near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita. It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river, that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

The native tribes, everywhere on the route, were found in a state of civilization beyond that of nomadic hordes. They were an agricultural people, with fixed places of abode, and subsisted upon the produce of the fields more than upon the chase. Ignorant of the arts of life, they could offer no resistance to their unwelcome visitors; the bow and arrow were the most effective weapons with which they were acquainted. They seem not to have been turbulent or quarrelsome; but, as the population was moderate and the earth fruitful, the tribes were not accustomed to contend with each other for the possession of territories. Their dress was, in part, mats wrought of ivy and bulrushes, of the bark and lint of trees; in cold weather they wore mantles woven of feathers. The settlements were by tribes; each tribe occupied what the Spaniards called a province; their villages were generally near together, but were composed of few habitations. The Spaniards treated them with no other forbearance than their own selfishness demanded, and enslaved such as offended, employing them as porters and guides. On a slight suspicion they would cut off the hands of numbers of the natives for punishment or intimidation; the young cavaliers, from desire of seeming valiant, took delight in cruelties and carnage. The guide who was unsuccessful, or who purposely led them away from the settlements of his tribe, would be seized and thrown to the hounds. Sometimes a native was condemned to the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety would induce the governor to set fire to a hamlet. The happiness, the life, and the rights of the Indians were held of no account. The approach of the Spaniards was heard with dismay, and their departure hastened by the suggestion of wealthier lands at a distance.

In the spring of 1542 Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes

which are found along the Red river and its tributaries. Near the Mississippi he came upon the country of Nilco, which was well peopled. The river was there larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville. In the middle of April he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red river, enters the Mississippi. The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men, with eight horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles, they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, impassable canebrakes, and the dense woods. The governor received the intelligence with gloom. His horses and men were dying around him; the natives were becoming dangerous enemies. He attempted to overawe a tribe of Indians near Natchez by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanding obedience and tribute. "You say you are the child of the sun," replied the undaunted chief; "dry up the river and I will believe you. Do you desire to see me? Visit the town where I dwell. If you come in peace, I will receive you with special good-will; if in war, I will not shrink one foot back." But Soto was no longer able to abate the confidence or punish the temerity of the natives. His stubborn pride was changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy. A malignant fever ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as the last hours of life demand. Believing his death near at hand, on the twentieth of May he held a last interview with his followers; and, yielding to the wishes of his companions, who obeyed him to the end, he named a successor. On the next day he died. Thus perished Ferdinand de Soto, the governor of Cuba, the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grieving for their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mis-

sissippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and in the stillness of midnight was sunk in the middle of the stream.

No longer sustained by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. To do this they must either descend the river in such frail boats as they could put together, or attempt the long pathway to Mexico through the forests. They were unanimous in the opinion that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches; but the Red river was so swollen that it could not be crossed by them. The Indian guides purposely led them astray; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness, into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited; they had now reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. The Spaniards believed themselves to be at least one hundred and fifty leagues west of the Mississippi. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to its banks, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men, whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness than to leave it in poverty; but Moscoso, the new governor, had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."

In December they came upon the Mississippi at Minoya, a few leagues above the mouth of Red river, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if at night they could find a dry resting-place. The Indians whom they had enslaved died in great numbers; in Minoya the Christians were attacked by a dangerous epidemic, and many died.

Nor was their labor yet at an end; it took the first five months of 1543 for men in their condition to build brigantines. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought

it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They calked their vessels with a weed like hemp; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs and even the horses were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying; and the neighboring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for a few kernels of their own maize, and often died from weakness and want of food. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines; they were frail barks, which had no decks; and as, from the want of iron, the nails were of necessity short, they were constructed of very thin planks, so that any severe shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, after a passage of seventeen days, the fugitives, on the eighteenth of July, reached the Gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. Like Cabeza, they observed that for some distance from the mouth of the Mississippi the sea is not salt, so great is the volume of fresh water which the river discharges. Following for the most part the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, on the tenth of September entered the river Panuco.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPANIARDS HOLD FLORIDA.

Such is the history of the first voyage of Europeans on the Mississippi; the honor of the discovery belongs to the Spaniards. There were not wanting adventurers who, in 1544, desired to make one more attempt to possess the country by force of arms; their request was refused. Religious zeal was more persevering; in December, 1547, Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many experienced warriors had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favor the design; all slaves that had been taken from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico were to be manumitted and restored to their country. In 1549 a ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal.

Death seemed to guard the approaches to that land. While the Castilians were everywhere else victorious, they were driven for a time to abandon the soil of Florida, after it was wet with their blood. But under that name they continued to claim all North America, even as far as Canada and Newfoundland. No history exists of their early exploration of the coast, nor is even the name of the Spanish navigator ascertained who, between the years 1524 and 1540, discovered the Chesapeake, and made it known as "the bay of St. Mary." Under that appellation the historian Oviedo, writing a little after 1540, describes it as opening to the sea in the latitude of

thirty-six degrees and forty minutes, and as including islands; of two rivers which it receives, he calls the north-eastern one Salt river, the other the river of the Holy Ghost; the cape to the north of it, which he places in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees, he names Cape St. John. The bay of St. Mary is marked on all Spanish maps, after the year 1549. But as yet not a Spanish fort was erected on the Atlantic coast, not a harbor was occupied, not one settlement was begun. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.

For France had begun to settle the region with a colony of Protestants; and Calvinism, which, with the special co-operation of Calvin himself, had for a short season occupied the coasts of Brazil and the harbor of Rio Janeiro, was now to be planted on the borders of Florida. Coligny had long desired to establish a refuge for the Huguenots and a Protestant French empire in America. Disappointed in his first effort by the apostasy and faithlessness of his agent, Villegagnon, he still persevered, moved alike by religious zeal and by a passion for the honor of France. The expedition which he now planned was intrusted to the command of John Ribault, of Dieppe, a brave man, of maritime experience, and a firm Protestant; and was attended by some of the best of the young French nobility, as well as by veteran troops. The feeble Charles IX. conceded an ample commission, and in February, 1562, the squadron set sail for the shores of North America. Land was first made by the voyagers in the latitude of St. Augustine; the noble river which we call the St. John's was named the river of May, from the month in which it was discovered. The land seemed rich in gold, silver, and pearls, and its caterpillars were taken for "fairer and better silk-worms" than those of Europe. As they sailed toward the north, three streams were named the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. In searching for the Jordan, they came "athwart a mightie river," which they called Port Royal. Casting anchor at ten fathom of water, Ribault landed with a party at Hilton Head, where they saw "high oaks and an infinite store of cedars," and heard "the voices of stags and divers other sorts of beasts." Some who threw nets wondered at the num-

ber of fish which they caught. After sheltering his ships in the sound, he explored the country on Broad river many leagues high, and was at first feared and then welcomed by the red men whom he chanced to meet. The stags were of "singular fairness and bigness." Palm-trees abounded. A stone engraven with the arms of France was set up to mark possession of the country, and a party of twenty-six was left on the bank of Beaufort river to hold it. Their earth-work fort may have stood on the first firm land of Port Royal island above Archer's creek; in honor of Charles IX. it was named Carolina.

In July, Ribault and the ships arrived safely in France. But the fires of civil war had been kindled in all the provinces of the kingdom; and the promised re-enforcements for Carolina were never levied. The situation of the garrison became precarious. The natives were friendly, but the soldiers themselves were insubordinate, and dissensions prevailed. The commandant at Carolina repressed the turbulent spirit with arbitrary cruelty, and lost his life in a mutiny which his ungovernable passion had provoked. The new commander succeeded in restoring order. But the love of his native land is a passion easily revived in the breast of a Frenchman; and in 1563 the company embarked in such a brigantine as they could themselves put together. Intoxicated with joy at the thought of returning home, they had neglected to provide sufficient stores, and they were overtaken by famine at sea. A small English bark which boarded their vessel, setting the most feeble on shore upon the coast of France, carried the rest to the queen of England.

After the treacherous peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, Coligny renewed his solicitations for the colonization of Florida. The king gave consent; in 1564 three ships were conceded for the service; and Laudonnière, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast, a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier, was appointed to lead forth the colony. Emigrants readily appeared, for the climate of Florida was so celebrated that, according to rumor, the duration of human life was doubled under its genial influences; and men still dreamed of rich mines of gold in the interior. Coligny was desirous of obtain-

ing accurate descriptions of the country; and James le Moyne, called De Morgues, an ingenious painter, was commissioned to execute colored drawings of the objects which might engage his curiosity. A voyage of sixty days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to the shores of Florida in June. The harbor of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided; and, after searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity that melancholy itself could not but change its humor as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the river May, near St. John's bluff. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was named Carolina. The result of this attempt to procure for France immense dominions at the south of our republic through the agency of a Huguenot colony, has been very frequently narrated; it forms a dark picture of malignant and merciless bigotry.

The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. What need is there of minutely relating the simple manners of the red men, the dissensions of rival tribes, the largesses offered to the strangers to secure their protection or their alliance, the improvident prodigality with which careless soldiers wasted the supplies of food; the certain approach of scarcity; the gifts and the tribute levied from the Indians by entreaty, menace, or force? By degrees the confidence of the red men was exhausted; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries.

But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants. Though patriotism and religious enthusiasm had prompted the expedition, the inferior class of the colonists was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth; and in December a party, under the pretence of desiring to escape from famine, compelled Laudonnière to sign an order permitting their embarkation for New Spain. No sooner were they possessed of this apparent sanction of the

chief than they began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. The act of crime and temerity was soon avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of the men disposed of as prisoners or slaves. The few that escaped in a boat sought shelter at Fort Carolina, where Laudonnière sentenced the ringleaders to death.

During these events the scarcity became extreme; and the friendship of the natives was forfeited by unprofitable severity. March of 1565 was gone, and there were no supplies from France; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived; May brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles, and they resolved to attempt a return to Europe. In August, Sir John Hawkins, the slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans, whom he had kidnapped with signal ruthlessness; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. The colony was on the point of embarking when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command, bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden-seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida.

But Spain had never abandoned her claim to that territory, where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. Should the proud Philip II. abandon a part of his dominions to France? Should he suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should he permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the neighborhood of his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a commander well fitted for reckless acts. Pedro Melendez de Aviles, often, as a naval officer, encountering pirates, had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance. He had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence, and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in

his conviction. The heir of Melendez had been shipwrecked among the Bermudas; the father desired to return and search among the islands for tidings of his only son. Philip II. suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and in May, 1565, a compact was framed and confirmed by which Melendez, who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honor, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent.

On his part he stipulated, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with five hundred men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men; with twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. He further engaged to introduce into his province all kinds of domestic animals and five hundred negro slaves. The sugar-cane was to become a staple of the country.

The king, in return, promised the undertaker various commercial immunities; the office of governor for life, with the right of naming his son-in-law as his successor; an estate of twenty-five square leagues in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; a salary of two thousand ducats, chargeable on the revenues of the province; and a fifteenth part of all royal perquisites.

Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with re-enforcements. The cry was raised that the heretics must be extirpated; and Melendez readily obtained the forces which he required. More than twenty-five hundred persons—soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, laborers, and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez—undertook the invasion. The trade-winds of July bore them rapidly across the Atlantic, but a tempest scattered the fleet on the way; it was with only one third part of his forces that Melendez reached the harbor of St. John in Porto Rico. But he esteemed celerity the secret of success; and,

refusing to await the arrival of the rest of his squadron, he sailed for Florida. It had been his design to explore the coast; to select a favorable site for a settlement; and, after constructing fortifications, to attack the French. On the twenty-eighth of August, the day which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church, he came in sight of Florida. For four days he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth day he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint on whose day he neared the coast, he gave to the harbor and to the stream the name of St. Augustine. Sailing then to the north, he espied a portion of the French fleet, and observed the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Melendez of Spain," replied he; "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet, unprepared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

At the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the anniversary of the nativity of Mary, the Spaniards returned to the harbor of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival—that is, on the eighth of September—the governor went on shore to take possession of the continent in the name of his king. Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine immediately laid. It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the union, east of the Mississippi.

Among the French it was debated whether they should improve their fortifications and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbor for the open sea before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and

wrecked every ship of the French fleet on the Florida coast. The vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state. Melendez led his men through the low land that divides the St. Augustine from the St. John's, and with a furious onset surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only toward the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest, the Spaniards, on the twenty-first, became masters of the fort, and soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, were alike massacred. The Spanish account asserts that Melendez ordered women and young children to be spared; yet not till after the havoc had long been raging.

Nearly two hundred persons were killed. A few escaped into the woods, among them Laudonnière, Challus, and Le Moyne, who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately put to death. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor.

The victory had been gained on the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the river May. After the carnage, mass was said; a cross raised; and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony.

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion; in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food, they capitulated, and in successive divisions were ferried across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon the opposite bank their hands

were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched toward St. Augustine, like sheep to the slaughter-house. When they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amid the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards, sparing a few Catholics and reserving some mechanics as slaves, massacred the rest, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The whole number of victims here and at the fort is said, by the French, to have been about nine hundred; the Spanish accounts diminish the number of the slain, but not the atrocity of the deed.

In 1566 Melendez despatched a vessel from his squadron, with thirty soldiers and two Dominicans, to settle the lands on the Chesapeake bay, then known as St. Mary's, and convert its inhabitants; but, disheartened by contrary winds and the certain perils of the proposed colonization, they turned about before coming near the bay, and sailed for Seville, spreading the worst accounts of a country which none of them had seen.

Melendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a colony which, if it had been protected, would have given to France an empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the new continent.

The Huguenots and the French nation did not share the indifference of the court. Dominic de Gourgues—a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner and a galley-slave among the Spaniards, taken by the Turks with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta—burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honor of his country. The sale of his property and the contributions of his friends furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, he, on the twenty-second of August, 1567, embarked for Florida, to destroy and revenge. He surprised two forts near the mouth of the St. Matthew; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger establishment, near the spot which the French colony had occupied. Too weak to maintain his position, he, in May,

1568, hastily weighed anchor for Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription: "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." The natives, who had been ill-treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. In 1573, Pedro Melendez Marquez, nephew to the adelantado, Melendez de Aviles, pursued the explorations begun by his relative. Having traced the coast line from the southern cape of Florida, he sailed into the Chesapeake bay, estimated the distance between its headlands, took soundings of the water in its channel, and observed its many harbors and deep rivers, navigable for ships. His voyage may have extended a few miles north of the bay. The territory which he saw was held by Spain to be a part of her dominions, but was left by her in abeyance. Cuba remained the centre of her West Indian possessions, and everything around it was included within her empire. Her undisputed sovereignty was asserted not only over the archipelagoes within the tropics, but over the continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the continuous shore to the cape and Atlantic coast of Florida, all was hers. The Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH ATTEMPT COLONIZATION.

Robert Thorne and Eliot, of Bristol, visited Newfoundland probably in 1502; in that year savages in their wild attire were exhibited to the king; but as yet the only intercourse between England and the New World was with its fisheries. In the conception of Europe the new continent was very slowly disengaged from the easternmost lands of Asia, and its colonization was not earnestly attempted till its separate existence was ascertained.

Besides, Henry VII., as a Catholic, could not wholly disregard the bull of the pope, which gave to Spain a paramount title to the North American world; and as a prince he sought a counterpoise to France in an intimate Spanish alliance, which he hoped to confirm by the successive marriage of one of his sons after the other to Catharine of Aragon, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Henry VIII., on his accession, surrendered to his father-in-law the services of Sebastian Cabot. To avoid interference with Spain, Thorne, who had long resided in Seville, proposed voyages to the east by way of the north; believing that there would be found an open sea near the pole, over which, during the arctic continuous day, Englishmen might reach the Indies.

In 1527 an expedition, favored by the king and Wolsey, sailed from Plymouth for the discovery of the north-west passage. But the larger ship was lost in July among icebergs, in a great storm; in August, accounts of the disaster were forwarded to the king and to the cardinal from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland.

By the repudiation of Catharine of Aragon, Henry VIII. sundered his political connection with Spain, and opened the New World to English rivalry. He was resolute in his attempts to suppress piracy; and the navigation of his subjects flourished under his protection. The banner of St. George was often displayed in the harbors of Northern Africa and in the Levant; and now that commerce, emancipated from the limits of the inner seas, went boldly forth upon the oceans, the position of England summoned her to derive advantage from the change.

An account exists of an expedition to the north-west in 1536, conducted by Hore of London, and "assisted by the good countenance of Henry VIII." But the two ships, the Trinity and the Minion, were worn out by a passage of more than two months before they reached a harbor in Newfoundland. There the disheartened adventurers wasted away from famine and misery. In the extremity of their distress a French ship arrived, "well furnished with vittails:" of this they obtained possession by a stroke of "policie," and set sail for England. The French, following in the English ship, complained of the exchange, upon which the king, out of his own private purse, "made them full and royal recompense." In 1541 the fisheries of "Newland" were favored by an act of parliament, the first which refers to America.

The accession of Edward, in 1547, and the consequent ascendency of Protestantism, marks the era when England began to foreshadow her maritime superiority. In the first year of his reign the council advanced a hundred pounds for Cabot, "a pilot, to come out of Hispain to serve and inhabit in England." In the next year the fisheries of Newfoundland, which had suffered from exactions by the officers of the admiralty, obtained the protection of a special act, "to the intent that merchants and fishermen might use the trade of fishing freely without such charges."

In 1549 Sebastian Cabot was once more in England, brought over at the cost of the exchequer; and, "for good service done and to be done," was pensioned as grand pilot; nor would he return to Seville, though his return was officially demanded by the emperor. In March, 1551, a special reward

was bestowed by the king on "the great seaman." He seemed to set no special value on his discovery of North America; to find a shorter route to the Indies had been the dream of his youth, and it still haunted him. He had vainly tried the north-west and the south-west; he now advised to attempt a passage by the north-east, and was made president of the company of merchants who undertook the search for it.

In May, 1553, the fleet of three ships, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, following the instructions of Cabot, undertook to reach China by doubling the northern promontory of Norway. The admiral, separated from his companions in a storm, was driven by the cold in September to seek shelter in a Lapland harbor. When search was made for him in the following spring, his whole company had perished from cold; Willoughby himself, whose papers showed that he had survived till January, was found dead in his cabin. Richard Chancellor, in one of the other ships, reached the harbor of Archangel. This was "the discovery of Russia," and the commencement of commerce by sea with that empire. A Spanish writer calls the result "a discovery of new Indies."

Soon after the accession of Mary to the English throne, the Emperor Charles V. again made an earnest request that Cabot might be sent back to his service; but the veteran refused to leave England, where, in 1556, a new company was formed for discovery, of which he was a partner and the president. He lived to an extreme old age, but the day of his death is uncertain. The discoverer of North America was one of the most remarkable men of his age. Time has spared all too few memorials of his career.

Even the intolerance of Queen Mary could not check the passion for adventure. The sea was becoming the element on which English valor was best displayed; English sailors neither feared the heats and fevers of the tropics, nor northern cold. The trade to Russia, now that the port of Archangel had been discovered, proved very lucrative; and a regular and as yet an innocent commerce was carried on with Africa. The marriage of Mary with the heir to the throne of Spain, and the enthusiasm awakened by the brilliant reception of Philip in London, excited Richard Eden to gather into a volume the history

of the most memorable maritime expeditions. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of their own historians; and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, learned to emulate Spanish success beyond the ocean.

Elizabeth, succeeding Mary in 1558, seconded the enterprise of her subjects. They were the more proud and intractable for the short effort to make England an appendage to Spain; and the triumph of Protestantism nursed the spirit of nationality. England, now the antagonist of Philip, prepared to extend her commerce to every clime. The queen strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England; she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection; and after 1574 at least from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland.

The press teemed with books of travels, maps, and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, engaged in the science of cosmography. A well-written argument in favor of the possibility of a north-western passage was the fruit of his industry.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the north-western passage, esteeming it "the only thing of the world that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor himself to provide a ship, it was in vain that he conferred with friends; in vain he offered his services to merchants. After years of desire, Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design. Two small barks of twenty-five and of twenty tons', with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the fleet, which was to enter gulfs that none before him had visited. As, in June, 1576, they dropped down the Thames, Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favor. During a storm on the

voyage the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the Michael turned their prow homeward; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador. Among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, he entered what seemed to be a strait that might lead to the Indies. Great praise is due to him for penetrating far beyond all former mariners into the bays and among the islands of this Meta Incognita, this unknown goal of discovery. Yet for his main purpose his voyage was a failure.

A stone which he had brought from the frozen regions was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city; there were not wanting those who endeavored to purchase of Elizabeth a lease of the new lands where it had been found. A fleet was immediately fitted out to procure more of the gold rather than to make further search for the passage into the Pacific; and the queen now sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition which was to conduct to infinite opulence. More men than could be employed volunteered their services. Near the end of May, 1577, the mariners, having received the communion, embarked for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the north-eastern coast of America, icebergs encompassed them on every side. With the light of an almost perpetual summer's day the worst perils were avoided. The fleet did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done. But large heaps of earth were found, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded, and "spiders were" affirmed to be "true signs of great store of gold." In freighting the ships with the supposed ore and golden sands, the admiral himself toiled like a painful laborer. How strange, in human affairs, is the mixture of sublime courage and ludicrous infatuation! What bolder maritime enterprise than, in that day, a voyage to lands lying north of Hudson Straits! What folly more egregious than to have gone there for a lading of useless earth!

The report of the returning ships led to the first attempt

of the English to gain a foothold in America. It was believed that the rich mines of the polar regions would countervail the charges of a costly adventure, and, for the security of the newly discovered lands, soldiers and discreet men were selected to become their inhabitants. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in part at the expense of Elizabeth, and confided to the command of Frobisher. Sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The north-west passage was become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

The fleet, as in midsummer, 1578, it approached the American coast, was bewildered among icebergs. One vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In a thick fog the ships lost their course, and came into the straits which have since been called Hudson's, and which lie south of the imagined fields of gold. The admiral believed himself able to sail through to the Pacific; but his duty as a mercantile agent controlled his desire of glory as a navigator. He struggled to regain the harbor where his vessels were to be laden, and, after "getting in at one gap and out at another," escaping only by miracle from hidden rocks and unknown currents, ice, and a lee shore, he at last succeeded. The zeal of the volunteer colonists had moderated, and the disheartened sailors were ready to mutiny. The plan of a settlement was abandoned, and nothing more was done than to freight the home-bound ships with a store of mineral earth. The historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo of the fleet. The belief in regions of gold among the Esquimaux was dissipated; but there remained a firm conviction that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the north-east coast of America, the western limits of

the territory of the United States became known. Embarking, in 1577, on a three years' voyage in quest of fortune, Francis Drake acquired immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbors on the Pacific; and, having laden his ship with spoils, the illustrious corsair gained for himself an honest fame by circumnavigating the globe. But, before following in the path which the ship of Magellan had thus far alone dared to pursue, Drake determined to explore the north-western coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of forty-three degrees. Here, in June, 1579, the cold seemed intolerable to men who had just left the tropics. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbor in a milder clime within the limits of Mexico, and, having refitted his ship and named the country New Albion, he sailed for England, through the seas of Asia. But it has already been related that the Spaniards preceded him by thirty-six years.

The adventures of Drake were but a career of splendid piracy against a nation with which his sovereign and his country professed to be at peace. The humble labor of the English fishermen who frequented the Grand Bank prepared the way for settlements of their countrymen in the New World. Already four hundred vessels came annually from the harbors of Portugal and Spain, of France and England, to the shores of Newfoundland. The English "were commonly lords in the harbors," and exacted payment for protection.

While the queen and her adventurers were dazzled by dreams of finding gold in the frozen regions of the north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization. He had been a soldier and a member of parliament; had written judiciously on navigation; and, though censured for his ignorance of the principles of liberty, was esteemed for the sincerity of his piety. Free alike from fickleness and fear, danger never turned him aside from the pursuit of honor or the service of his sovereign; for he knew that death is inevitable, and the fame of

virtue immortal. It was not difficult for him, in June, 1578, to obtain a patent, formed according to commercial theories of that day, and to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years. To the people who might belong to his colony the rights of Englishmen were promised; to Gilbert, the possession for himself or his assigns of the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of his settlement, with supreme executive and legislative authority.

Under this patent Gilbert collected a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. His most faithful friend was his step-brother, Walter Raleigh. This is he who a few years before had abruptly left the university of Oxford to fight for the Huguenots against the Catholics, and, with the prince of Navarre, afterward Henry IV., to learn the art of war under the veteran Coligny at the time when the Protestant party in France was glowing with indignation at the massacre of their colony of Calvinists in Florida.

The first movement of Gilbert proved a failure. Jarrings and divisions had ensued before the voyage was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken. In 1579 the general and a few of his assured friends, among them Walter Raleigh, put to sea: one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return.

But the pupil of Coligny delighted in hazardous adventure. To prosecute discoveries in the New World, lay the foundation of states, and acquire immense domains, appeared to Raleigh as easy designs, which would not interfere with the pursuit of favor in England. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped a new squadron. In 1583 the fleet embarked under happy omens; the commander, on the eve of his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor guided by a lady. A man of letters from Hungary, and "a mineral-man" from Saxony, the land of miners, accompanied the expedition; and some part of the United States would have been colonized but for a succession of overwhelming disasters. Two days after leav-

ing Plymouth, the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbor. Gilbert, incensed, but not intimidated, sailed for Newfoundland; and, on the fifth of August, entering St. John's, he summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese and other strangers to witness the ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign. A pillar, on which the arms of England were infixed, was raised as a monument; and lands were granted to the fishermen in fee, on condition of the payment of a quit-rent. It was generally agreed that "the mountains made a show of mineral substance;" the "mineral-man" protested on his life that silver ore abounded. He was charged to keep the discovery a profound secret; and the precious ore was carried on board the larger ship with such mystery that the dull Portuguese and Spaniards suspected nothing of the matter.

It was not easy for Gilbert to preserve order in the little fleet. Many of the sailors, infected with the vices which in that age degraded their profession, were no better than pirates, and were perpetually bent upon pillaging whatever ships fell in their way. At length, having abandoned one of their barks, the English, in three vessels only, sailed on further discoveries, intending to visit the coast of the United States. But they had not proceeded toward the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset, when, on the twenty-seventh of August, the largest ship, from the carelessness of the crew, struck and was wrecked. Nearly a hundred men perished; the "mineral-man" and the ore were all lost; nor was it possible to rescue Parmenius, the Hungarian, who should have been the historian of the expedition.

It now seemed necessary to hasten to England. Gilbert had sailed in the Squirrel, a bark of ten tons only, and therefore convenient for entering harbors and approaching the coast. On the homeward voyage he would not forsake his little company, with whom he had encountered so many storms and perils. A desperate resolution! The weather was extremely rough; the oldest mariner had never seen "more outrageous seas." The little frigate, not more than

twice as large as the long-boat of a merchantman, "too small a bark to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year," was nearly wrecked. That same night, about twelve o'clock, its lights suddenly disappeared; and neither the vessel, nor any of its crew, was ever again seen. Before the end of September the Hind reached Falmouth in safety.

Raleigh, not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother, revolved a settlement in the milder clime from which the Protestants of France had been expelled. He readily obtained from Elizabeth, in March, 1584, a patent as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. It was drawn according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith as professed in the church of England. Raleigh was constituted a lord proprietary, with almost unlimited powers, holding his territories by homage and an inconsiderable rent, and possessing jurisdiction over an extensive region, of which he had power to make grants according to his pleasure.

Expectations rose high, since the inviting regions of the south were now to be colonized. In April two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, buoyant with hope, set sail for the New World. They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies; after a short stay in those islands they sailed for the north, and were soon opposite the shores of Carolina. As in July they drew near land, the fragrance was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." Ranging the coast for one hundred and twenty miles, they entered the first convenient harbor, and, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they took possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed was in the island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracoke inlet. The air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes, and the English commanders were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean, gemmed with islands, and seen in the magnificence of repose. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration; the trees

had not their paragons; luxuriant climbers gracefully festooned the loftiest cedars; wild grapes abounded; and natural arbors formed an impervious shade. The forests were filled with birds; and, at the discharge of an arquebuse, whole flocks would arise, uttering a cry as if an army of men had shouted together.

The tawny inhabitants of the land, which they called Secotan, appeared in harmony with the loveliness of the scene. The desire of traffic overcame their timidity, and the English received a friendly welcome. On the island of Roanoke they were entertained, by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina the king, with the refinements of Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." They had no cares but to guard against the moderate cold of a short winter, and to gather such food as the earth almost spontaneously produced. And yet it was added, with singular inconsistency, that their wars were cruel and bloody; and the English were solicited to engage in them under promise of lucrative booty.

The adventurers were satisfied with observing the general aspect of the New World; Pamlico and Albemarle sounds and Roanoke island were explored, and some information gathered by inquiries from the Indians; the commanders had not the courage or the activity to undertake an extensive survey of the country. Having made but a short stay in America, they arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina. Elizabeth esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

Nor was it long before Raleigh, elected to represent in parliament the county of Devon, obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery; and while he received the honor of

knighthood, as the reward of his valor, he acquired a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to continue his schemes. The prospect of becoming the proprietary of a delightful territory, with a numerous tenantry, who should yield him not only a revenue, but allegiance, inflamed his ambition; and, as the English nation listened with credulity to the descriptions of Amidas and Barlow, it was not difficult to gather a numerous company of emigrants. While a new patent was issued to John Davis for the discovery of the north-western passage, and his well-known voyages, sustained in part by the contributions of Raleigh himself, were increasing the acquaintance of Europe with the Arctic Sea, the plan of colonizing Virginia was earnestly pursued.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, a man so much esteemed as a soldier that he was afterward knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, the most able and celebrated of Raleigh's associates, distinguished for bravery among the gallant spirits of a gallant age, assumed the command of the fleet. In April, 1585, it sailed from Plymouth, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers: by Cavendish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra, the historian of the expedition; and White, an ingenious painter, whose sketches of the natives, their habits and modes of life, were taken with beauty and exactness.

To sail by the Canaries and the West Indies, to conduct a gainful commerce with the Spanish ports by intimidation; to capture Spanish vessels—these were but the expected preliminaries of a voyage to Virginia. In June the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape, which was then first called the cape of Fear; and two days after it came to anchor at Wocoken. The largest ship, as it entered the harbor, struck, but was not lost. It was through Ocracoke inlet that the fleet made its way to Roanoke.

Manteo, who returned with the fleet from a visit to Eng-

land, was sent to the mainland to announce their arrival. Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan, and, as they relate, were well entertained of the savages. At one of the Indian towns a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Grenville ordered the village to be burnt and the standing corn destroyed. Not long after this act of inconsiderate revenge, the ships, having landed the colony, sailed for England; a rich Spanish prize, made by Grenville on the way home, secured him a courteous welcome as he re-entered Plymouth.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, could be none other than to explore the country, which he thus describes: "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

The keenest observer was Hariot. He carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco, accustomed himself to its use, and believed in its healing virtues. The culture and the extraordinary productiveness of maize especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The natural inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror; clothed in mantles and aprons of deerskins; having no weapons but wooden swords and bows of witch-hazel with arrows of reeds; no armor but targets of bark and sticks wickered together with thread. Their largest towns contained but thirty dwellings. The walls of the houses were made of bark, fastened to stakes; and sometimes consisted of poles fixed upright, one by another, and at the top bent over and fastened. But the great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in the want of political connection. A single town

often constituted a government; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams might be an independent state. The greatest chief in the country could not muster more than seven or eight hundred fighting men. The dialect of each government seemed a language by itself. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonkin race, where the Lenni-Lenape tribes melted into the widely differing nations of the south. Their wars rarely led them to the open battle-field; they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, to ambushes and the subtle devices of cunning falsehood. Destitute of the arts, they yet displayed "excellency of wit" in all which they attempted. To the credulity of fetichism they joined an undeveloped conception of the unity of the Divine Power, continued existence after death, and retributive justice. The mathematical instruments, the burning-glass, guns, clocks, and the use of letters, seemed the works of gods rather than of men; and the English were reverenced as the pupils and favorites of Heaven. In every town which Hariot entered he displayed and explained the Bible; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined that the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents with whom the air was supposed to be peopled. They prophesied that "more of the English generation would come, to kill them and take their places."

The natives desired to be delivered from guests by whom they feared to be supplanted. A wily savage allured them by tales that the river Roanoke gushed from a rock near the Pacific; that its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in refining the rich ore in which the country abounded; that the walls of their city glittered with pearls. In March, Lane attempted to ascend the rapid Roanoke; and his followers

would not return till their provisions were exhausted, and they had eaten the dogs which bore them company.

The Indians had hoped to destroy the English by dividing them; the prompt return of Lane prevented open hostilities; but in the two following months he became persuaded that a grand alliance was forming to destroy the strangers by a general massacre. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most dreaded of the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were, on the first day of June, readily admitted to his presence. Immediately, and without any sign of hostile intentions by the Indians, the watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the king and his principal followers, put them to death.

The discoveries of Lane on the south extended only to Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse; to the north they reached the river Elizabeth, which joins the Chesapeake bay at Hampton Roads; in the interior, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottoway; the excursion up the Roanoke did not advance beyond the present village of Williamstown. The hope of finding better harbors at the north was confirmed; and the bay of Chesapeake, so long before discovered by the Spanish, was first made known to the English. But, though the climate was found salubrious, in the island of Roanoke the men began to despond; they had waited long for supplies from England; they were sighing for their native land; when early in June it was rumored that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships, and within three days Sir Francis Drake anchored his fleet outside of Roanoke inlet, in "the wild road of their bad harbor."

Homeward bound from the West Indies, he had come to visit the domain of his friend; and readily supplied the wants of Lane, giving him a bark of seventy tons, pinnaces and small boats, and all needed provisions. Above all, he induced two experienced sea-captains to remain and employ themselves in more extended discoveries. Everything was furnished to complete the surveys along the coast and the rivers, and in the last resort, if suffering became extreme, to convey the emigrants to England.

At this time an unwonted storm suddenly arose, and the fleet had no security but in standing away from the shore. When the tempest was over, nothing could be found of the boats and the bark which had been set apart for the colony; and Drake yielded to the unanimous desire of Lane and his men to embark with him for England. Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favorite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the use of tobacco.

A few days after their departure a vessel arrived, laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh; but, finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and made search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke.

The decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country rendered it easy to collect recruits for America. Raleigh, undismayed by losses, determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, in January, 1587, he granted a charter for the settlement, and a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. Transport ships were prepared at the expense of the proprietary; "Queen Elizabeth, the godmother of Virginia," declined contributing "to its education." Embarking in April, in July they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field where wild deer were reposing. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared.

The instructions of Raleigh had designated the place for the new settlement on the bay of the Chesapeake. But Fernando, the naval officer, eager to renew a profitable traffic in the West Indies, refused his assistance in exploring the coast, and White was compelled to remain on Roanoke. The fort of Governor Lane, "with sundry decent dwelling-houses," had been built at the northern extremity of the island; it was there that in July the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid. The island is now almost uninhabited; commerce has selected securer harbors; the intrepid pilot and the hardy "wrecker" are the only occupants of the spot, where the inquisitive stranger after more than two centuries could still discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

Disasters thickened. A tribe of savages displayed implacable jealousy, and murdered one of the assistants. The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the island of Croatan, and mutual good-will was continued; but even this alliance was not unclouded. A detachment of the English, discovering a company of the natives whom they esteemed their enemies, fell upon them by night as they were sitting by their fires, and havoc was begun before it was perceived that these were friendly Indians.

The vanities of life were not forgotten; "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, after receiving Christian baptism, was invested with the rank of baron, as the Lord of Roanoke.

With the returning ship White embarked for England, under the excuse of interceding for re-enforcements and supplies. Yet, on the eighteenth of August, nine days previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, as he left with them his daughter and his grandchild, VIRGINIA DARE.

The further history of this plantation is involved in gloomy

uncertainty. The inhabitants of "the city of Raleigh," the emigrants from England and the first-born of America, awaited death in the land of their adoption.

For, when White reached England, he found its attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain; and Grenville, Raleigh, and Lane, not less than Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins, were engaged in measures of resistance. Yet Raleigh, whose patriotism did not diminish his generosity, found means, in April, 1588, to despatch White with supplies in two vessels. But the company, desiring a gainful voyage rather than a safe one, ran in chase of prizes, till one of them fell in with men-of-war from Rochelle, and, after a bloody fight, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were compelled to return to England. The delay was fatal: the English kingdom and the Protestant reformation were in danger; nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered till after the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada.

Even then Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, found his impaired fortune insufficient for further attempts at colonizing Virginia. He therefore used the privilege of his patent to endow a company of merchants and adventurers with large concessions. Among the men who thus obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it connects the first efforts of England in North Carolina with the final colonization of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the instrument of March, 1589, was not an assignment of Raleigh's patent, but the extension of a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights of that charter belonged.

More than another year elapsed before White could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. The conjecture has been hazarded that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians. Raleigh

long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence, and sent at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times, to search for his liege-men. But imagination received no help in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England who advanced the colonization of the United States. Courage, self-possession, and fertility of invention, ensured him glory in his profession of arms; and his services in the conquest of Cadiz and the capture of Fayal established his fame as a gallant and successful commander.

No soldier in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh, whose "sweet verse" Spenser described as "sprinkled with nectar," and rivalling the melodies of "the summer's nightingale." When an unjust verdict left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, he, who had been a warrior, a courtier, and a seaman, in an elaborate "History of the World," "told the Greek and Roman story more fully and exactly than any earlier English writer, and with an eloquence which has given his work a classical reputation in our language." In his civil career he was jealous of the honor, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country. In parliament he defended the freedom of domestic industry. When, through unequal legislation, taxation was a burden upon industry rather than wealth, he argued for a change; himself possessed of a lucrative monopoly, he gave his voice for the repeal of all monopolies; he used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the non-conformists, and as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. He joined in the risks of Gilbert's expedition; contributed to that of Davis in the north-west; and explored in person "the insular regions and broken world" of Guiana. His lavish efforts in colonizing the soil of our republic, his sagacity which enjoined a settlement within the Chesapeake bay, the publications of Hariot and Hakluyt which he countenanced, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as

well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits began to ripen during his lifetime.

Raleigh had suffered in health before his last undertaking. He returned broken-hearted by the defeat of his hopes, the decay of his strength, and the death of his eldest son. What shall be said of King James, who would open to an aged paralytic no hope of liberty but through the discovery of mines in Guiana? What shall be said of a monarch who could, under a sentence which had slumbered for fifteen years, order the execution of the decrepit man, whose genius and valor shone through the ravages of physical decay, and whose heart still beat with an undying love for his country?

The family of the chief author of early colonization in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, in 1792, revived in its capital "The City of Raleigh," in grateful commemoration of his name and fame.

Imagination already saw beyond the Atlantic a people whose mother idiom should be the language of England. "Who knows," exclaimed Daniel, the poet-laureate of that kingdom—"Who in time knows whither we may vent

The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds, in th' yet unformed Occident,
May 'come refined with th' accents that are ours."

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, a discreet and intrepid navigator, who remained till death devoted to the English colonization of Virginia, undertook the direct voyage from the British channel to America. From the Azores, to which he was borne by contrary winds, he ran a westerly course across the Atlantic, but the weakness of his ship, the unskilfulness of his crew, and his caution, from ignorance of the ocean and the nearest land, causing him to carry but a low sail, it was only after seven weeks that he came in sight of Cape Elizabeth in Maine. Following the coast to the south-west, he skirted "an outpoint of wooded land;" and, about noon of the fourteenth of May, he anchored "near Savage rock," to the east of York

harbor. There he met a Biscay shallop; and there he was visited by natives. Not finding his "purposed place," he stood to the south, and on the morning of the fifteenth discovered the promontory which he named Cape Cod. He and four of his men went on shore; Cape Cod was the first spot in that region ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they touched at No Man's Land, passed round the promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff, and entered Buzzard's bay, a stately sound which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen, a name which has been transferred to the group. Here they beheld the rank vegetation of a virgin soil: noble forests; wild fruits and flowers bursting from the earth; the eglantine, the thorn, and the honeysuckle; the wild pea, the tansy, and young sassafras; strawberries, raspberries, grape-vines—all in profusion. Within a pond upon the island lies a rocky islet; on this the adventurers built their storehouse and their fort; and the foundations of a colony were laid. The island, the pond, the islet, remain; the shrubs are luxuriant as of old; but the forests are gone, and the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

A traffic with the natives on the main enabled Gosnold to lade the Concord with sassafras root, then esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea. The band, which was to have nestled on the Elizabeth islands, despairing of supplies of food, and fearing the Indians, determined not to remain. In June the party bore for England, leaving not so much as one European family between Florida and Labrador. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favorable reports of the regions which they had visited. Could it be that the passage was so safe, the climate so pleasant, the country so inviting? The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh, and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt,—the enlightened friend and able documentary historian of these commercial enterprises, a man whose fame should be vindicated and asserted in the land which he helped to colonize,—determined to pursue

the career of investigation. The Speedwell, a ship of fifty tons and thirty men, the Discoverer, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin Pring, set sail for America on the tenth of April, 1603, a few days after the death of the queen. The ship was well provided with trinkets and merchandise, suited to a traffic with the red men, and reached the American shore among the islands of Penobscot bay. Coasting toward the west, Pring made a discovery of many of the harbors of Maine; of the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York rivers; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Finding no sassafras, he steered to the south, doubled Cape Ann, and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, till he anchored in Old Town harbor, on Martha's Vineyard. Here obtaining a freight, he returned to England, after an absence of about six months, which had been free from disaster or danger.

The testimony of Pring having confirmed the report of Gosnold, an expedition, promoted by the earl of Southampton and his brother-in-law, Lord Arundel of Wardour, was confided to George Waymouth, a careful and vigilant commander, who, in attempting a north-west passage, had already explored the coast of Labrador.

Weighing anchor on Easter Sunday, 1605, on the fourteenth of May he came near the whitish, sandy promontory of Cape Cod. To escape the continual shoals in which he found himself embayed, he stood out to sea, then turned to the north, and on the seventeenth anchored to the north of Monhegan island, in sight of hills to the north-north-east on the main. On Whit Sunday he found his way among the St. George's islands into an excellent harbor, which was accessible by four passages, defended from all winds, and had good mooring upon a clay ooze, and even upon the rocks by the cliff side. The climate was agreeable; the sea yielded fish of many kinds profusely; the tall and great trees on the islands were much observed; and the gum of the silver fir was thought to be as fragrant as frankincense; the land was of such pleasantness that many of the company wished themselves settled there; trade was carried on with the natives for sables, and skins of

deer and otter and beaver. Having in the last of May discovered in his pinnace the broad, deep current of the St. George's, on the eleventh of June, Waymouth, with a gentle wind, passed up with the ship into that river for about eighteen miles, which were reckoned at six-and-twenty, and "all consented in joy" to admire its width of a half mile or a mile; its verdant borders; its gallant and spacious coves; the strength of its tide, which may have risen nine or ten feet, and was set down at eighteen or twenty. On the thirteenth he ascended in a row-boat ten miles farther, and was more and more pleased with the beauty of the fertile ground on each hand. No token was found that ever any Christian had been there before; and at the point where the river trends westward into the main he set up a memorial cross, as he had already done on the rocky shore of the St. George's islands. Well satisfied with his discoveries, on Sunday, the sixteenth of June, he sailed for England, taking with him five of the natives whom he had decoyed, to be instructed in English and to serve as guides to some future expedition. At his coming into the harbor of Plymouth he yielded up three of the natives to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governor of that town, whose curiosity was thus directed to the shores of Maine. The returning voyagers celebrated its banks, which promised most profitable fishing; its rude people, who were willing to barter costly furs for trifles; the temperate and healthful air of the country, whose "pleasant fertility bewrayed itself to be the garden of Nature." But it was not these which tempted Gorges. He had noticed that all navigations of the English along the more southerly American coast had failed from the want of good roads and havens; these were the special marks at which he levelled; and, hearing of a region safe of approach and abounding in harbors large enough to shelter the ships of all Christendom, he aspired to the noble office of filling it with prosperous English plantations.

Gorges had wealth, rank, and influence. He readily persuaded Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, to share his intentions. The chief justice was no novice in schemes of colonization, having "labored greatly in the last project touching the plantation of Munster" in Ireland; and

they agreed together to send out each a ship to begin a plantation in the region which Waymouth had explored. Chalons, the captain employed by Gorges, in violation of his instructions, taking the southern passage, was carried by the trade-winds even to Porto Rico; and, as he turned to the north, he was captured by the Spanish fleet from Havana. The tall and well-furnished ship provided by Popham sailed from the river of Severn, under the command of Martin Pring. The able mariner, now on his second voyage to the west, disappointed of meeting Chalons, busied himself in the more perfect discovery of all the rivers and harbors along our north-eastern coast; and, on his return, he made the most favorable report of the country which he had explored.

The daring and ability of these pioneers upon the ocean, who led the way to the colonization of the United States, deserve the highest admiration. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite, the real dangers from tempests and shipwreck, famine and mutinies, heat and cold, diseases known and unknown, were incalculable. The ships at first employed were generally of less than one hundred tons' burden; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons. Columbus was cast away twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert—and how many others!—went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favor of Heaven.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND PLANTS A NEW NATION IN VIRGINIA.

"I SHALL yet live to see Virginia an English nation," wrote Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil shortly before the accession of James I. When the period for success had arrived, changes in European politics and society had moulded the forms of colonization. The Reformation had broken the harmony of religious opinion, and differences in the church began to constitute the basis of political parties. After the East Indies had been reached by doubling the southern promontory of Africa, the great commerce of the world was carried upon the ocean. The art of printing had been perfected and diffused; and the press spread intelligence and multiplied the facilities of instruction. The feudal institutions were undermined by the current of time and events. Productive industry had built up the fortunes and extended the influence of the middle classes, while habits of indolence and expense had impaired the estates and diminished the power of the nobility. These changes produced corresponding results in the institutions which were to rise in America.

A revolution had equally occurred in the objects for which voyages were undertaken. Columbus sought a new passage to the East Indies. The passion for gold next became the prevailing motive. Then islands and countries near the equator were made the tropical gardens of Europeans. At last the higher design was matured: to plant permanent Christian colonies; to establish for the oppressed and the enterprising places of refuge and abode; to found states in a temperate clime, with all the elements of independent existence.

In the imperfect condition of industry, a redundant population had grown up in England even before the peace with Spain, which threw out of employment the gallant men who had served under Elizabeth by sea and land, and left them no option but to engage as mercenaries in the quarrels of strangers, or incur the hazards of "seeking a New World." The minds of many persons of intelligence and rank were directed to Virginia. The brave and ingenious Gosnold, who had himself witnessed the fertility of the western soil, after long solicitations, prevailed with Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant of the west of England, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of fortitude and modest worth, and Captain John Smith, an adventurer of indomitable perseverance, to risk their hopes of fortune in an expedition. For more than a year this little company revolved their project. Nor had the assigns of Raleigh become indifferent to "western planting," which the most distinguished of them all, "industrious Hakluyt," still promoted by his personal exertions, his weight of character, and his invincible zeal. Possessed of whatever information could be derived from foreign sources and a correspondence with eminent navigators of his times, and anxiously watching the progress of Englishmen in the west, his extensive knowledge made him a counsellor in colonial enterprise.

With these are to be named George Popham, a kinsman of the chief justice, and Raleigh Gilbert. They and "certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London and elsewhere," and "of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of the town of Plymouth and other places in the west," applied to James I. for "his license to deduce a colony into Virginia." The king, alike from vanity, the wish to promote the commerce of Great Britain, and the ambition of acquiring new dominions, entered heartily into the great design. From the "coast of Virginia and America" he selected a territory of ten degrees of latitude, reaching from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel, and into the backwoods without bound. For the purposes of colonization, he divided the almost limitless region equally between the two rival companies of London and of the West. The London company were to lead forth the "First Colony of Virginia" to lands

south of the thirty-eighth degree; and north of the forty-first parallel the Western company was to plant what the king called "THE SECOND COLONY OF VIRGINIA." The three intermediate degrees were reserved for the eventual competition of the two companies, except that each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one fifteenth of copper. The right of coining money was conceded. The natives, it was hoped, would receive Christianity and the arts of civilized life. The general superintendence was confided to a council in England; the local administration of each colony to a resident council. The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king, and were to hold office at his good pleasure. Their authority extended to both colonies, which jointly took the name of VIRGINIA. Each of the two was to have its own resident council, of which the members were from time to time to be ordained and removed according to the instructions of the king. To the king, moreover, was reserved supreme legislative authority over the several colonies, extending to their general condition and the most minute regulation of their affairs. A duty of five per cent, to be levied within their precincts, on the traffic of strangers not owing obeisance to the British crown, was, for one-and-twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the several plantations; at the end of that time was to be taken for the king. To the emigrants it was promised that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen.

The charter for colonizing the great central territory of the North American continent, which was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile corporation nothing but a wilderness, with the right of peopling and defending it. By an extension of the prerogative, which was in itself illegal, the monarch assumed absolute legislative as well as executive powers. The emigrants were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, in which they could not act as members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council

in England; and, finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign. The first "treasurer" or governor of the London company, to whom fell the chief management of its affairs, was Sir Thomas Smythe, a merchant zealous for extending the commerce of his country, and equally zealous for asserting the authority of the corporation.

The summer was spent in preparations for planting the first colony, for which the king found a grateful occupation in framing a code of laws. The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which was independent of the emigrants, and had power to elect or remove its president, to remove any of its members, and to supply its own vacancies. Not an element of popular liberty or control was introduced. Religion was established according to the doctrine and rites of the church within the realm; and no emigrant might avow dissent, or affect the superstitions of the church of Rome, or withdraw his allegiance from King James. Lands were to descend according to the laws of England. Not only murder, manslaughter, and adultery, but dangerous tumults and seditions, were punishable by death, at the discretion of the magistrate, restricted only by the trial by jury. All civil causes, requiring corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment, might be summarily determined by the president and council, who possessed legislative authority in cases not affecting life or limb. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. It was further ordered that the industry and commerce of the several colonies should, for five years at least, be conducted in a joint stock.

The council of the English company added instructions to the emigrants to search for navigable rivers, and, if any of them had two branches, to ascend that which tended most toward the north-west to its sources, and seek for some stream running the contrary way toward the South sea. Then, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and six, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, forty-one years from the settlement of Florida, the squadron of three vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons' burden, with the favor of all England,

stretched their sails for "the dear strand of Virginia, earth's only paradise." Michael Drayton, the patriot poet "of Albion's glorious isle," cheered them on, saying:

Go, and in regions far such heroes bring ye forth
. As those from whom we came; and plant our name
Under that star not known unto our north.

Yet the enterprise was ill concerted. Of the one hundred and five on the list of emigrants, there were but twelve laborers, and few mechanics. They were going to a wilderness, in which, as yet, not a house was standing; and there were forty-eight gentlemen to four carpenters. Neither were there any men with families.

Newport, who commanded the ships, was acquainted with the old passage, and sailed by way of the Canaries and the West India islands. As he turned to the north, a severe storm, in April, 1607, carried his fleet beyond the settlement of Raleigh, into the magnificent bay of the Chesapeake. The headlands received and retain the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, from the sons of King James; the deep water for anchorage, "putting the emigrants in good Comfort," gave a name to the northern Point; and within the capes a country opened, which appeared to "claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." A noble river was soon entered, which was named from the monarch; and, after a search of seventeen days, during which the comers encountered the hostility of one savage tribe, and at Hampton smoked the calumet of peace with another, on the thirteenth of May they reached a peninsula about fifty miles above the mouth of the stream, where the water near the shore was so very deep that the ships were moored to trees. Here the council, except Smith, who for no reason unless it were jealousy of his superior energy was for nearly a month kept out of his seat, took the oath of office, and the majority elected Edward Maria Wingfield president for the coming year. Contrary to the earnest and persistent advice of Bartholomew Gosnold, the peninsula was selected for the site of the colony, and took the name of Jamestown.

While the men toiled in felling trees to make room for their tents, and in gathering freight for the two ships which were soon to return to England, Newport, Smith, and twenty others ascended the river, with a perfect resolution not to return till they should have found its head and a passage through the mountains to the western ocean. Trading on their way with the riparian tribes, they were soon arrested by the falls of the river, below which they were hospitably entertained by the great chief of the country. They examined the cataract to find a mode of passing around it, but "the water falleth so rudely and with such violence not any boat could possibly pass them." The next day in idle admiration they gazed upon the scene, while Newport erected a cross with the inscription, "James the king, 1607," and proclaimed him to have most right unto the river. They were again at Jamestown on the twenty-seventh of May.

During their absence the Indians had shown a hostile disposition. Captain Newport set things in order, made peace with one of the neighboring chiefs, and completed the palisado around the fort. On the twenty-first of June, in a church which consisted only of a sail spread from tree to tree to keep off the midsummer sun, with rails for walls and logs for benches, the communion was administered, and on the next day he embarked for England, leaving behind him a colony of one hundred and four persons, reported to be "in good health and comfort."

Meantime the adventurers of the west of England had wholly disconnected themselves from the London company by obtaining for the superintendence of their affairs a separate council resident in the kingdom, and had completed their arrangements for the colonization of the northern part of Virginia.

Five months after the departure of the southern colony, one hundred and twenty passengers sailed as planters from Plymouth in the Mary and John, with Raleigh Gilbert for its captain, and in the Gift of God, a fly boat commanded by a kinsman of the chief justice, George Popham, who was "well strickened in years and infirm, yet willing to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable

to his country." The corps with which they went forth, to plant the English monarchy and the English church in that part of Virginia which lay north of the forty-first parallel, was more numerous and more carefully chosen than that of their rivals.

After a voyage of two months, in the afternoon of the last day of July, they stood in for the shore, and found shelter under Monhegan island. Their first discovery was that the fishermen of France and Spain had been there before them. They had not ridden at anchor two hours when a party of Indians in a Spanish shallop came to them from the shore and rowed about them; and the next day returned in a Biscay boat with women, bringing beaver-skins to exchange for knives and beads. In the following days the emigrants explored the coast and islands, and on the sixteenth of August both ships entered the Kennebec.

On the nineteenth all the members of this "second colony of Virginia" went on shore, made choice of the Sabine peninsula, near the mouth of that river, for the site of their fort, and "had a sermon delivered unto them by their preacher." After the sermon they listened to the reading of the commission of George Popham, their president, and of the laws appointed for them by King James. Five men were sworn assistants. Without delay, most of the company, under the oversight of the president, labored hard on a fort which they named St. George, a storehouse, fifty rude cabins for their own shelter, and a church. The shipwrights set about the building of a small pinnace, the chief shipwright being one Digby, the first constructor of sea-going craft in that region. Meantime Gilbert coasted toward the west, judged the land to be exceeding fertile, and brought back the news of the beauty of Casco bay with its hundreds of isles. When, at the invitation of the mighty Indian chief who ruled on the Penobscot, Gilbert would have visited that river, he was driven back by foul weather and cross winds. Remaining faithfully in the colony, in December he sent back his ship under another commander, who bore letters announcing to the chief justice the forwardness of the plantation, and importuning supplies for the coming year. A letter from President Popham informed King James that his praises and his virtues had been proclaimed to

the natives; that the country produced fruits resembling spices, as well as timber of pine; and that it lay hard by the great highway to China over the southern ocean.

The winter proved to be intensely cold; no mines were discovered; the natives, at first most friendly, grew restless; the storehouse caught fire and a part of the provisions of the colony was consumed; the president found his grave on American soil, "the only one of the company that died there. To the despair of the planters, the ship which revisited the settlement with supplies brought news of the death of the chief justice, who had been the stay of the enterprise, and Gilbert, who had succeeded to the command at St. George, had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to an estate in England which required his presence. So, notwithstanding all things were in good forwardness, the fur trade with the Indians prosperous, and a store of sarsaparilla gathered, "all former hopes were frozen to death," and nothing was thought of but to quit the place. Wherefore in the ship which had lately arrived, and in the Virginia, their own new pinnace, they all set sail for England. So ended "the second colony of Virginia." The colonists "did coyne many excuses" for their going back; but the Western company was dissatisfied; Gorges esteemed it a weakness to be frightened at a blast. Three years had elapsed since the French had hutted themselves at Port Royal; and the ships which carried the English from the Kennebec were on the ocean at the same time with the outward-bound squadron of those who in that summer built Quebec.

The first colony of Virginia was suffering under far more disastrous trials. Scarcely had Newport, in June, 1607, weighed anchor for home than the English whom he left behind stood face to face with misery. They were few in numbers, ignorant of the methods of industry, without any elements of union, and surrounded by distrustful and hostile natives.

The air which they breathed was unwholesome with the exhalations from steaming marshes; their drink was the brackish water of the river; their food was a scant daily allowance of porridge made of barley which had been spoiled on the long voyage from England. They had no houses to cover

them; their tents were rotten. They were weakened by continual labor at the defences in the extremity of the heat; and they watched by turns every third night, lying on the cold bare ground, what weather soever came. It made the heart bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of sick men without relief, night and day, for six weeks; and sometimes three or four died in a night. Fifty men, one half of the colony, perished before autumn; among them Bartholomew Gosnold, a man of rare merit, worthy of perpetual memory in the plantation.

Incessant broils heightened the confusion. The only efficient member of the government was Smith, who went up and down the river trading with the natives for corn, which brought relief to the colony. Wingfield, the president, gave offence by caring too much for his own comfort; and, being wholly inefficient, was, on the tenth of September, by general consent, deposed. The faint-hearted man, so he records of himself, offered a hundred pounds toward fetching home the emigrants if the plan of a colony should be given over. The office of president fell to John Ratcliffe from his place in the council, but he proved a passionate man, without capacity to rule himself, and still less to rule others. Of the only three remaining councillors, one was deposed, and afterward shot to death for mutiny; another was an invalid, and there was no one left to guide in action but Smith, whose buoyant spirit alone inspired confidence. In boyhood, such is his own narrative, he had sought for the opportunity of "setting out on brave adventures;" and, though not yet thirty years of age, he was already famed for various service in foreign wars. On regaining England, his mind was wholly mastered by the general enthusiasm for planting states in America; and now the infant commonwealth of Virginia depended for its life on his firmness. For the time he was the cape merchant or treasurer, as well as the only active councillor. His first thought was to complete the building of Jamestown, and, setting the example of diligent labor, he pushed on the construction of houses with success. He next renewed trade with the natives, and was most successful in his expeditions for the purchase of corn. On the approach of winter, when he had defeated a proposal to let

the pinnace go for England, and when the fear of famine was removed by good supplies from the Indian harvest of maize and by the abundance of game, he began the exploration of the country. Ascending the Chickahominy as far as it was navigable in a barge, he then, with two red men as guides and two of his own company, proceeded twelve miles further; but, while with one Indian he went on shore to examine the nature of the soil and the bendings of the stream, his two companions were killed, and he himself was surrounded in the wilderness by so many warriors that he cast himself upon their mercy.

The leader of his captors was Opechancanough, a brother and subordinate of Powhatan, the great chieftain of all the neighborhood. He knew the rank of the prisoner, "used him with kindness," and sent his letters to the English fort; and from the villages on the Chickahominy the Virginia councillor was escorted through Indian towns to an audience with Powhatan, who chanced to be on what is now York river. The "emperor," studded with ornaments, and clad in raccoon skins, showed a grave and majestical countenance as he welcomed him with good words and "great platters of sundrie" food, and gave assurance of friendship. After a few days, which Smith diligently used in inquiries respecting the country, especially the waters to the north-west, he was, early in January, 1608, sent home, attended by four men, of whom two were laden with maize.

The first printed "Newes from Virginia" spread abroad these adventures of Smith; and they made known to English readers the name of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, a child "of tenne," or more probably of twelve "years old, who not only for feature, countenance, and expression, much exceeded any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit was the only nonpareil of the country." The captivity of the bold explorer became a benefit to the colony; for he not only observed with care the country between the James and the Potomac and gained some knowledge of the language and manners of the natives, but he established a peaceful intercourse between the English and the tribes of Powhatan. The child, to whom in later days he attributed his rescue from

death, visited the fort with companions, bringing baskets of corn.

Restored to Jamestown after an absence of but four weeks, Smith found the colony reduced to forty men; and, of these, the strongest were preparing to escape with the pinnace. This attempt at desertion he repressed at the hazard of his life.

Meantime the council in England, having received an increase of its numbers and its powers, determined to send out recruits and supplies; and Newport had hardly returned from his first voyage before he was again despatched with one hundred and twenty emigrants. Yet the joy in Virginia on their arrival in April was of short continuance; for the new comers were chiefly gentlemen and goldsmiths, who soon persuaded themselves that they had discovered grains of gold in a glittering soil which abounded near Jamestown; and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." Martin, one of the council, promised himself honors in England as the discoverer of a mine; and Newport believed himself rich, as in April he embarked for England with a freight of worthless earth.

Disgusted at the follies which he vainly opposed, Smith undertook the perilous and honorable office of exploring the bay of the Chesapeake, and the rivers which it receives. Two voyages, in an open boat, with a few companions, over whom his superior courage, rather than his station as a magistrate, gave him authority, occupied him about three months of the summer. With slender means, but with persistency and skill, he surveyed the bay to the Susquehanna, and left only the borders of that remote river to remain for some years longer the fabled dwelling-place of a giant progeny. He was the first to publish to the English the power of the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats, and many men," and, as it seemed to the feebler Algonkin tribes, "made war upon all the world;" in the Chesapeake he encountered a fleet of their canoes. The Patapsco was discovered and explored, and Smith probably entered the harbor of Baltimore. The Potomac especially invited curiosity; and he ascended to its lower falls. Nor did he merely

examine the rivers and inlets. He penetrated the territories, and laid the foundation for beneficial intercourse with the native tribes. The map which he prepared and sent to the company in London delineates correctly the great outlines of nature. The expedition was worthy the romantic age of American history; he had entered upon it in the beginning of June, and had pursued the discovery with inflexible constancy, except for three days in July, when at Jamestown Ratcliffe, for his pride and cruelty, was deposed. The government would then have devolved on Smith; but he substituted for the time "his good friend Matthew Scrivener," a new councillor, who had come over but a few months before.

On the tenth of September, 1608, three days after his return from his discoveries, Smith was formally constituted president of the council. Order and industry began to be established, when Newport entered the river with about seventy new emigrants, of whom two were women.

The London company had grown exceedingly impatient at receiving no returns for its outlays. Of themselves they were helpless in counsel, without rational plans, looking vaguely for a mine of gold, or a short route to India, and listening too favorably to the advice of Newport. By their orders a great company proceeded to York river to go through the senseless ceremony of crowning Powhatan as emperor of that country. A boat in five parts was sent over from England, to be borne above the falls, in the hope of reaching the waters which flow to the South sea, or by some chance of finding a mine of gold. For several weeks the store of provisions and the labor of one hundred and twenty of the best men that could be chosen were wasted in examining James river above the falls.

A few Germans and Poles were sent over to make pitch, tar, soap ashes, and glass, when the colony could not yet raise provisions enough for its support. "When you send again," Smith was obliged to reply, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

The charge of the voyage of Newport was more than two

thousand pounds; unless the ships should return full freighted with commodities, corresponding in value to the costs of the adventure, the colonists were threatened with being "left in Virginia as banished men." "We have not received the value of one hundred pounds," answered Smith. "From toiling to satisfy the desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another. These causes stand in the way of laying in Virginia a proper foundation; as yet, you must not look for any profitable returning."

After the long delayed departure of the ships, the first care of Smith was to obtain supplies for the colony from the Indians. In the spring of 1610 he introduced the culture of maize, which was taught by two savages, and thirty or forty acres were "digged and planted." Authority was employed to enforce industry; he who would not work might not eat, and six hours in the day were spent in toil. The gentlemen learned the use of the axe, and became excellent wood-cutters. Jamestown assumed the appearance of a regular place of abode. It is worthy of remembrance that Smith proposed to plant a town near the falls of the river, where the city of Richmond now stands. Eight months of good order under his rule gave to the colony a period of peace and industry, of order and health. The quiet of his administration was disturbed in its last days by the arrival of seven ships with emigrants, sent out from England under new auspices, so that they for the moment formed an element of anarchy. Smith maintained his authority until his year of office was over; and, under special arrangements, a little longer, until he was accidentally disabled by wounds which the medical skill of the colony could not relieve. He then delegated his office to Percy and embarked for England, never to see the Chesapeake again.

Captain John Smith united the strongest spirit of adventure with eminent powers of action. Full of courage and self-possession, he was fertile in expedients, and prompt in execution. He had a just idea of the public good, and clearly discerned that it was not the true interest of England to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth. "Nothing," said he, "is to be expected thence but by labor;" and as a public officer he excelled in its direction. The historians of Virginia

have with common consent looked to him as the preserver of their commonwealth in its infancy; and there is hardly room to doubt that, but for his vigor, industry, and resolution, it would have been deserted like the Virginia of the north, and with better excuse. Of government under the forms of civil liberty he had no adequate comprehension; but his administration was the most wise, provident, and just of any one known to the colony under its first charter. It was his weakness to be apt to boast. As a writer, he deals in exaggeration and romance, but in a less degree than the foreign historians who served as his models; his reports and his maps are a proof of his resolute energy, his keenness of observation, and his truthfulness of statement. His official report to the company is replete with wise remarks and just reproof. He was public spirited, brave, and constantly employed, and, with scanty means, did more toward the discovery of the country than all others of his time.

After the desertion of the northern part of Virginia, intercourse was kept up with that part of the country by vessels annually employed in the fisheries and the trade in furs; and it may be that once at least, perhaps oftener, some part of a ship's company remained during the winter on the coast. John Smith, on his return to England, still asserted, with unwearied importunity and firmness of conviction, that colonization was the true policy of England; and, in April, 1614, sailed with two ships for the region that had been appropriated for the second colony of Virginia. This private adventure of "four merchants of London and himself" was very successful. The freights were profitable, the health of the mariners did not suffer, and the voyage was accomplished in less than seven months. While the sailors were busy with their hooks and lines, Smith examined the shore from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared of the coast a map—the first which gives its outline intelligibly well; and he named the country New England—a title which Prince Charles confirmed; though the French could boast, with truth, that New France had been colonized before New England obtained a name; that Port Royal was older than Plymouth, Quebec than Boston.

Encouraged by commercial success, Smith, in the next

year, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and of friends in London who were members of the Western company, endeavored to establish a colony, though but of sixteen men, for the occupation of New England. The attempt was made unsuccessful by violent storms.

Again renewing his enterprise, Smith was captured by French pirates. His ship having been taken away, he escaped alone, in an open boat, from the harbor of Rochelle. The severest privations in a new settlement would have been less wearisome than the labors which his zeal now prompted him to undertake. Having published a map and description of New England, he spent many months in visiting the merchants and gentry of the west: he proposed to the cities mercantile profits, to be realized in short and safe voyages; to the noblemen, vast domains; to men of small means he drew a lively picture of the rapid advancement of fortune by colonial industry, of the abundance of game, the delights of unrestrained liberty, the pleasures to be derived from "angling, and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle over the silent streams of a calm sea." His private fortunes never recovered from his disastrous capture by the French; but his zeal for the interests of the nation redounded to his honor; and he retired from American history with the rank of Admiral of New England for life.

CHAPTER VII.

VIRGINIA OBTAINS CIVIL LIBERTY.

The golden anticipations of the London company from the colonization of Virginia had not been realized, for it had grasped at sudden emoluments. Undaunted by the train of misfortunes, the kingdom awoke to the greatness of the undertaking, and designs worthy of the English nation were conceived. The second charter of Virginia, which, at the request of the former corporation, passed the seals on the twenty-third of May, 1609, intrusted the colonization of that land to a very numerous, opulent, and influential body of adventurers. The name of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, appears at the head of those who were to carry into execution the grand design to which Raleigh, now a close prisoner in the Tower, had aroused the attention of his countrymen. Among the many hundreds whose names followed were the earls of Southampton, Lincoln, and Dorset, George Percy, Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle to the future protector, Sir Anthony Ashley, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Francis Bacon, Captain John Smith, Richard Hakluyt, George Sandys, many tradesmen, and five-and-fifty public companies of London; so that the nobility and gentry, the army and the bar, the industry and commerce of England, were represented.

The territory granted to the company extended two hundred miles to the north, and as many to the south of Old Point Comfort, "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and north-west," including "all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of both seas of the precinct."

At the request of the corporation, the new charter trans-

ferred to the company the powers which had before been reserved to the king. The perpetual supreme council in England was to be chosen by the shareholders themselves, and, in the exercise of the functions of legislation and government, was independent of the monarch. The governor in Virginia, whom the corporation was to appoint, might rule the colonists with uncontrolled authority, according to the tenor of instructions and laws established by the council, or, in want of them, according to his own good discretion, even in cases capital and criminal, not less than civil; and, in the event of mutiny or rebellion, he might declare martial law, being himself the judge of the necessity of the measure, and the executive officer in its administration. If not one valuable civil privilege was guaranteed to the emigrants, they were at least withdrawn from the power of the king; and the company could at its pleasure endow them with all the rights of Englishmen.

Lord Delaware, distinguished for his virtues as well as rank, received the appointment of governor and captain-general for life; and was surrounded, at least nominally, by stately officers, with titles and charges suited to the dignity of a flourishing empire. The public mind favored colonization; the adventurers, with cheerful alacrity, contributed free-will offerings; and such swarms of people desired to be transported that the company could despatch a fleet of nine vessels, containing more than five hundred emigrants.

The admiral of the expedition was Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was authorized to administer the affairs of the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware. The three commissioners had embarked on board the same ship, which, near the coast of Virginia, was separated by a hurricane from all its companions, and stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas. A small ketch perished; so that seven ships only had arrived in Virginia.

After the departure of Smith, the old colonists, and the newcomers, no longer controlled by an acknowledged authority, abandoned themselves to improvident idleness. Their ample stock of provisions was rapidly consumed, and further supplies were refused by the Indians, who began to regard them with a fatal contempt. Stragglers from the town were cut

off; parties, which begged food in the Indian cabins, were murdered; and plans were laid to starve and destroy the whole company. The horrors of famine ensued, while a band of about thirty, seizing on a ship, escaped to become pirates, and to plead desperate necessity as their excuse. In six months, indolence, vice, and famine reduced the number in the colony to sixty; and these were so feeble and dejected that, if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they must have perished.

Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers, whose ship had been wrecked on the rocks of the Bermudas, had reached the shore without the loss of a life. The uninhabited island, teeming with natural products, for nine months sustained them in affluence. From the cedars which they felled, and the wrecks of their old ship, they constructed two vessels, in which they embarked for Virginia, in the hope of a happy welcome to a prosperous colony. How great, then, was their dismay, as in May, 1610, they came among scenes of death and misery and scarcity! Four pinnaces remained in the river; nor could the extremity of distress listen to any other course than to make sail for Newfoundland. The colonists desired to burn the town in which they had been so wretched, but were prevented by Gates, who was himself the last to desert the settlement. "None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." On the eighth they fell down the stream with the tide; but, the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies. The fugitives bore up the helm, and, favored by the wind, were that night once more at the fort in Jamestown.

It was on the tenth day of June that the restoration of the colony was begun. "Bucke, chaplain of the Somer islands, finding all things so contrary to their expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment, made a zealous and sorrowful prayer." A deep sense of the infinite mercies of Providence revived hope in the colonists who had been spared by famine, the emigrants who had been shipwrecked and yet preserved, and the new-comers who found wretchedness and want where they had expected abundance. "It is," said they, "the arm of the Lord

of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan." "Doubt not," said the emigrants to the people of England, "God will raise our state and build his church in this excellent clime." Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read; and, after a consultation on the good of the colony, its government was organized with mildness but decision. The evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration, and the dignity and virtues of the governor; and the colonists, in mutual emulation, performed their tasks with alacrity. At the beginning of the day they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country; next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The hours of labor were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon till four. The houses were warm and secure, covered above with strong boards, and matted on the inside after the fashion of the Indian wigwams.

The country became better known. Samuel Argall, who in the former year had visited Virginia as a trading agent of Sir Thomas Smythe, and now came over again with the expedition of 1610, explored the neighboring coast to the north. At nine in the morning of the twenty-seventh of July he cast anchor in a very great bay, and gave it the name of Delaware.

Security and affluence were dawning upon the colony. But the health of Lord Delaware sunk under his cares and the climate; after a lingering sickness, he left the administration with Percy, and returned to England. The colony, at this time, consisted of about two hundred men; but the departure of the governor produced despondency at Jamestown; "a damp of coldness" in the hearts of the London company; and a great reaction in the popular mind in England. "Our own brethren laugh us to scorne," so the men of Jamestown complained; "and papists and players, the scum and dregs of the earth, mocke such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."

Fortunately, the corporation, before the retirement of Lord Delaware was known, had despatched Sir Thomas Dale, "an experienced soldier," with supplies. In May, 1611, he arrived in the Chesapeake, and assumed the government, which he soon afterward administered upon the basis of martial law.

The code, printed and sent to Virginia by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smythe, on his own authority, and without the order or assent of the company, was chiefly a translation from the rules of war of the United Provinces. The Episcopal church, coeval in Virginia with the settlement of Jamestown, was, like the infant commonwealth, subjected to military power; and, though conformity was not strictly enforced, yet courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death. The normal introduction of this arbitrary system, which the charter permitted only in cases of rebellion and mutiny, added new sorrows to the wretchedness of the people, who pined and perished under despotic rule.

The letters of Dale to the council confessed the small number and weakness and discontent of the colonists; but he kindled hope in the hearts of those constant adventurers, who, in the greatest disasters, had never fainted. "If anything otherwise than well betide me," said he, "let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travel in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil." Lord Delaware and Sir Thomas Gates confirmed what Dale had written, and, without any delay, Gates, who has the honor, to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia, conducted to the New World six ships, with three hundred emigrants. Long afterward the gratitude of Virginia to these early settlers was shown by repeated acts of benevolent legislation. A wise liberality sent with them a hundred kine.

The promptness of this relief merits admiration. In May, 1611, Dale had written from Virginia; and the last of August the new recruits, under Gates, were already at Jamestown. So unlooked for was this supply that, at their approach, they were regarded with fear as a hostile fleet. Who can describe the joy at finding them to be friends? Gates assumed the government amidst the thanksgivings of the colony, and endeavored to employ the sentiment of religious trust as a foundation of order and of laws. "Lord bless England, our sweet native

country," was the morning and evening prayer of the grateful colony, which now numbered seven hundred men. Dale, with the consent of Gates, went far up the river to found the new plantation, which, in honor of Prince Henry, a general favorite with the English people, was named Henrico; and there, on the remote frontier, Alexander Whitaker, the self-denying "apostle of Virginia," assisted in "bearing the name of God to the gentiles." But the greatest change in the condition of the colonists resulted from the incipient establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were assigned for his orchard and garden, to plant for his own use. Henceforward the sanctity of private property was recognised. Yet the rights of the Indians were little respected; nor did the English disdain to appropriate by conquest the soil, the cabins, and the granaries of the tribe of the Appomattocks. It was, moreover, the policy of the government so "to overmaster the subtile Powhatan" that he must perforce join with the residents from abroad in submissive friendship, or "leave his country to their possession."

When the court of Spain learned that the English were taking to themselves the land on the Chesapeake, it repeatedly threatened to send armed galleons to remove the planters. In the summer of 1611 a Spanish caravel with a shallop anchored near Point Comfort, and, obtaining a pilot from the fort, took soundings of the channels. Yet no use was made of the knowledge thus acquired; the plantation was reported to be in such extremities that it could not but fall of itself.

While the colony was advancing in strength and happiness, the third patent for Virginia, signed in March, 1612, granted to the shareholders in England the Bermudas and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore; a concession of no ultimate importance in American history, since the new acquisitions were soon made over to a separate company. But it was further ordered that weekly, or even more frequent meetings, of the whole company might be convened for the transaction of ordinary business; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved for the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected and all laws established.

The political rights of the colonists were not directly acknowledged; but the character of the corporation was entirely changed by transferring power from the council to the company, through whose assemblies the people of Virginia might gain leave to exercise every political power belonging to the people of England. At the same time lotteries, though unusual in England, were authorized. They produced to the company twenty-nine thousand pounds; disliked by the nation as a grievance, in 1621, on the complaint of the house of commons, they were suspended by an order of council.

There was no longer any doubt of the stability of the colony. They who had freely offered gifts, while "the holy action" of planting it was "languishing and forsaken," saw the "pious and heroic enterprise" assured of success. Shakespeare, whose friend, the "popular" earl of Southampton, was the foremost man in the Virginia company, shared the pride and the hope of his countrymen. As he heard of James river and Jamestown, his splendid prophecy, by the mouth of Cranmer, promised the English the possession of a hemisphere, through the patron of colonies, King James:

> Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> His honor and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, and make new nations.

From Virginia came the first check on French colonization in North America. In the spring of 1613, in a vessel which carried fifteen guns and a crew of sixty men, Argall set forth on a fishing voyage to the Isle of Shoals. In the waters of New England he heard of the establishment of the French on Mount Desert isle. Its founder, Madame de Guercheville, had not only purchased the rights of De Monts, but had obtained a royal grant to colonize any part of America from the great river of Canada to Florida, excepting only Port Royal. Her earliest colony, consisting of three Jesuits and thirty men, had planted themselves on an inviting hillside that sloped gently toward the sea, and were sheltered in four pavilions, which had been the gift of the queen dowager of France, Mary of Medici. Of a sudden they beheld a ship tricked out in red, bearing the flag of England, with three trumpets and two drums sounding violently, sailing under favoring winds into their harbor swifter

than an arrow. It was Argall, with a force too great to be resisted. After cannonading the slight intrenchments, and a sharp discharge of musketry, he gained possession of the infant hamlet of St. Saviour. The cross round which the faithful had gathered was thrown down, the tents were abandoned to pillage, and the ship in the harbor seized as a prize, because captured within the limits of Virginia. The French were expelled from the territory, but with no further act of inhumanity or cruelty; a part of them found their way to a vessel bound for St. Malo, others were taken to the Chesapeake.

On making his report at Jamestown, Argall was sent once more to the north, with authority to remove every landmark of France in the territory south of the forty-sixth degree. He raised the arms of England on the spot where those of France and De Guercheville had been thrown down, razed the fortifications of De Monts on the isle of St. Croix, and set on fire the deserted settlement of Port Royal. In this manner England vindicated her claims. In less than a century and a half the strife for acres which neither nation could cultivate kindled war round the globe; but for the moment France, distracted by the factions which followed the assassination of Henry IV., did not resent the insult to her flag; and the complaint of Madame de Guercheville was presented only as a private claim.

Meantime the captivity of the daughter of Powhatan, who had been detained at Jamestown as a hostage for the return of Englishmen held in captivity by her father, led to better relations between Virginia and the Indian tribes. For the sake of her liberation the chief set free his English captives. During the period of her stay at Jamestown, John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet" young Englishman, daily, hourly, and, as it were, in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ears that he should strive to make her a Christian. After a great struggle of mind and daily and believing prayers, he resolved to labor for the conversion of the "unregenerated maiden;" and, winning the favor of Pocahontas, he desired her in marriage. The youthful princess received instruction with docility; and soon, in the little church of Jamestown which rested on rough pine columns fresh from the forest, she stood before the font

that out of the trunk of a tree "had been hewn hollow like a canoe," "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized." "The gaining of this one soul," "the first fruits of Virginian conversion," was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1614, to the joy of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away; and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows.

Every historian of Virginia commemorates the union with approbation; men are proud to trace from it their descent. Its immediate fruits to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Powhatan alone, but with the powerful Chickahominies, who demanded to be called Englishmen. But the European and the native races could not blend, and the weakest were doomed to disappear.

Sir Thomas Gates, who, in March, 1614, had left the government with Dale, on his return to England employed himself in reviving the courage of the London company. In May, 1614, a petition for aid was presented to the house of commons, and was heard with unusual solemnity. It was supported by Lord Delaware, whose affection for Virginia ceased only with life. He would have had the enterprise adopted by the house and king, even at the risk of a conflict with the Spaniards. "All it requires," said he, "is but a few honest laborers, burdened with children." He moved for a committee to consider of relief, but nothing was agreed upon. The king was eager to press upon the house the supply of his wants, and the commons to consider the grievances of the people; and these disputes with the monarch led to a hasty dissolution of the commons. It was not to privileged companies, parliaments, or kings, that the new state was to owe its prosperity. Agriculture enriched Virginia.

The condition of private property in lands among the colonists, depended in some measure on the circumstances under which they had emigrated. For those who had been sent and maintained at the exclusive cost of the company and were its servants, one month of their time and three acres of land had been set apart, besides an allowance of two bushels of corn

from the public store; the rest of their labor belonged to their employers. This number gradually decreased; and, in 1617, there were of them all, men, women, and children, but fifty-four. Others, especially in the favorite settlement near the mouth of the Appomattox, were tenants, paying two and a half barrels of corn as a yearly tribute to the store, and giving to the public service one month's labor, which was to be required neither at seed-time nor harvest. He who came himself, or had sent others at his own expense, had been entitled to a hundred acres of land for each person; now that the colony was well established, the bounty on emigration was fixed at fifty acres, of which the actual occupation and culture gave a right to as many more, to be assigned at leisure. Besides this, lands were granted as rewards of merit; yet not more than two thousand acres could be so appropriated to one person. A payment to the company's treasury of twelve pounds and ten shillings obtained a title to any hundred acres of land not yet granted or possessed, with a reserved claim to as much more. Such were the earliest land laws of Virginia: though imperfect and unequal, they gave the cultivator the means of becoming a proprietor of the soil. These changes were established by Sir Thomas Dale, a magistrate, who, notwithstanding the introduction of martial law, has gained praise for his vigor and industry, his judgment and conduct. Having remained five years in America, he appointed George Yeardley deputy governor; and, with Pocahontas and her husband as the companions of his voyage, in June, 1616, he arrived in his native country.

The Virginia princess, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name, "the first Christian ever of her nation," was wondered at in the city; entertained with unwonted festival state and pomp by the bishop of London, in his hopeful zeal to advance Christianity by her influence; and graciously received at court, where, on one of the holidays of the following Christmas season, she was a guest at the presentment of a burlesque masque, which Ben Jonson had written to draw a hearty laugh from King James. A few weeks later she prepared to return to the land of her fathers, but died at Gravesend as she was bound for home, saved from beholding

the extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, and dwelling in tradition under the form of gentleness and youth.

With the success of agriculture, the Virginians, for the security of property, needed the possession of political rights. From the first settlement of Virginia, Sir Thomas Smythe had been the presiding officer of the London company; and no willingness had been shown to share the powers of government with the emigrants, who had thus far been ruled as soldiers in a garrison. Now that they had outgrown this condition of dependency, and were possessed of the elements of political life, they found among the members of the London company wise and powerful and disinterested friends. Yet in the appointment of a deputy governor the faction of Smythe still prevailed; and Argall, who had been his mercantile agent, was elected by ballot to supersede Yeardley as deputy governor of the colony. He was further invested with the place of admiral of the country and the adjoining seas, an evidence that his overthrow of the French settlements in the north was approved.

In May, 1617, Argall arrived in Virginia, and assumed its government. Placed above immediate control, he showed himself from the first arrogant, self-willed, and greedy of gain. Martial law was still the common law of the country, and his arbitrary rule "imported more hazard to the plantation than ever did any other thing that befell that action from the beginning." He disposed of the kine and bullocks belonging to the colony for his own benefit; he took to himself a monopoly of the fur trade; he seized ancient colony men, who were free, and laborers who were in the service of the company, and forced them to work for himself.

Before an account of his malfeasance in office reached England, Lord Delaware, the governor-general, had been despatched by the company with two hundred men and supplies for the colony. He was followed by orders to ship the deputy governor home, where he was "to answer everything that should be laid to his charge."

The presence of Lord Delaware might have restored tranquillity; his health was not equal to the voyage, and he did not live to reach Virginia. Argall was therefore left unre-

strained to defraud the company, as well as to oppress the colonists. The condition of Virginia became intolerable; the labor of the settlers continued to be perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude, for a limited period, was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and, in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life was insecure against his capricious passions. The first appeal ever made from America to England, directed not to the king, but to the company, was in behalf of one whom Argall had wantonly condemned to death, and whom he had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to respite. The colony was fast falling into disrepute, and the report of the tyranny established beyond the Atlantic checked emigration; but it happily roused the discontent of the best of the adventurers. When on the fifth of October, 1618, the news of the death of Lord Delaware reached London, they demanded a reformation with guarantees for the future. After a strenuous contest on the part of rival factions for the control of the company, the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys and his friends prevailed; Argall was displaced, and the mild and popular Yeardley was elected governor in his stead, with higher rank. On the twenty-second of November the king gave him audience, knighted him, and held a long discourse with him on the religion of the natives. Vessels lay in the Thames ready for Virginia; but, before the new chief magistrate could reach his post, Argall had withdrawn, having previously, by fraudulent devices, preserved for himself and his partners the fruits of his extortions.

On the nineteenth of April, 1619, Sir George Yeardley entered on his office in the colony. Of the emigrants who had been sent over at great cost, not one in twenty then remained alive. "In James citty were only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government, with one wherein the governor allwayes dwelt, and a church, built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that citye, of timber, being fifty foote in length and twenty in breadth." At the town of Henrico there were no more than "three old houses, a poor ruinated church, with some few poore buildings in the islande." "For ministers to instruct the people, only three were authorized; two others had never received their

orders." "The natives were upon doubtfull termes;" and the colony was altogether "in a poore estate."

From the moment of Yeardley's arrival dates the real life of Virginia. Bringing with him "commissions and instructions from the company for the better establishinge of a commonwealth," he made proclamation "that those cruell lawes, by which the ancient planters had soe longe been governed, were now abrogated, and that they were to be governed by those free lawes, which his majesties subjectes lived under in Englande." Nor were these concessions left dependent on the good-will of administrative officers. "That the planters might have a hande in the governing of themselves, yt was graunted that a generall assemblie shoulde be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the governor and counsell with two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the inhabitantes thereof, this assemblie to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence."

In conformity with these instructions, Sir George Yeardley "sente his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the counsell of estate that were absente, as also for the election of burgesses."

Nor did the patriot members of the London company leave him without support. At the great and general court of the Easter term, Sir Thomas Smythe, having reluctantly professed a wish to be eased of his office, was dismissed, and Sir Edwin Sandys elected by a great majority governor and treasurer. For deputy, John Ferrar was elected by a like majority. Nicholas Ferrar, the younger brother of the deputy, just turned of six-and-twenty, one of the purest and least selfish men that ever lived, who a few months before had returned from an extensive tour on the continent of Europe, was made counsel to the corporation; and the conduct of business gradually fell into his hands. He proved himself able and indefatigable in business, devoted to his country and its church, at once a royalist, and a wise and firm upholder of English liberties. In the early history of American colonization the English character nowhere showed itself to better advantage than in the Virginia company after the change in its direction.

It was therefore without any danger of being thwarted at home that on Friday, the thirtieth day of July, 1619, delegates from each of the eleven plantations of Virginia assembled at James City.

The inauguration of legislative power in the Ancient Dominion preceded the introduction of negro slavery. The governor and council sat with the burgesses, and took part in motions and debates. John Pory, a councillor and secretary of the colony, though not a burgess, was chosen speaker. Legislation was opened with prayer. The assembly exercised fully the right of judging of the proper election of its members; and they would not suffer any patent, conceding manorial jurisdiction, to bar the obligation of obedience to their decisions. They wished every grant of land to be made with equal favor, that all complaint of partiality might be avoided, and the uniformity of laws and orders never be impeached. The commission of privileges sent by Sir George Yeardley was their "great charter," or organic act, which they claimed no right "to correct or control;" yet they kept the way open for seeking redress, "in case they should find ought not perfectly squaring with the state of the colony."

Leave to propose laws was given to any burgess, or by way of petition to any member of the colony; but, for expedition's sake, the main business of the session was distributed between two committees; while a third body, composed of the governor and such burgesses as were not on those committees, examined, which of former instructions "might conveniently put on the habit of laws." The legislature acted also as a criminal court.

The church of England was confirmed as the church of Virginia; it was intended that the first four ministers should each receive two hundred pounds a year; all persons whatsoever, upon the Sabbath days, were to frequent divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon; and all such as bore arms, to bring their pieces or swords. Grants of land were asked not for planters only, but for their wives, "because, in a new plantation, it is not known whether man or woman be the most necessary." Measures were adopted "toward the erecting of a university and college." It was enacted that, of

the children of the Indians, "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be brought up in the first elements of literature, and sent from the college to the work of conversion" of the natives to the Christian religion. Penalties were appointed for idleness, gaming with dice or cards, and drunkenness. Excess in apparel was restrained by a tax. The business of planting corn, mulberry-trees, hemp, and vines was encouraged. The price of tobacco was fixed at three shillings a pound for the best, and half as much "for the second sort."

When the question was taken on accepting "the great charter," "it had the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly," with thanks for it to Almighty God and to those from whom it had issued, in the names of the burgesses and of the whole colony whom they represented: the more so, as they were promised the power to allow or disallow the orders of the court of the London company.

A perpetual interest attaches to this first elective body that ever assembled in the western world, representing the people of Virginia, and making laws for their government, more than a year before the Mayflower, with the pilgrims, left the harbor of Southampton, and while Virginia was still the only British colony on the continent of America. The functions of government were in some degree confounded; but the record of the proceedings justifies the opinion of Sir Edwin Sandys, that "the laws were very well and judiciously formed."

The enactments of these earliest American law-givers were instantly put in force, without waiting for their ratification by the company in England. Former griefs were buried in oblivion, and they who had been dependent on the will of a governor, having recovered the privileges of Englishmen, under a code of laws of their own, "fell to building houses and planting corn," and henceforward "regarded Virginia as their country."

The patriot party in England, who now controlled the London company, engaged with earnestness in schemes to advance the numbers and establish the liberties of their plantation. No intimidations—not even threats of blood—could deter Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, from investigating and reforming the abuses by which its progress had been retarded.

At his accession to office, after twelve years' labor, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were in the colony no more than six hundred men, women, and children; and in one year the company and private adventurers made provision to send over twelve hundred and sixty-one persons.

To the other titles of "the high empress" Elizabeth, Spenser had, just before the end of the sixteenth century, added that of "queen of Virginia;" King James, who was already the titular sovereign of four realms, now accepted as the motto for the London company's coat of arms: "Lo! Virginia gives a fifth crown." A strong interest took hold of the people of England; gifts and bequests came in for "the sacred work" of founding a colonial college and building up the colonial church. There were two poets, of whose works Richard Baxter said that he found "none so savoury next to the Scripture poems." Of these, George Sandys, son of the archbishop of York, himself repaired to Virginia as its resident treasurer, to assist in establishing "a rich and well peopled kingdom;" and George Herbert, the bosom friend of Nicholas Ferrar, expressed the feeling of the best men of England when he wrote:

Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,
Readie to passe to the American strand.

The quarter session, held on the seventeenth of May, 1620, was attended by near five hundred persons, among whom were twenty great peers of the land; near a hundred knights of the kingdom; as many more officers of the army, and renowned lawyers; and numerous merchants and men of business. It was the general wish of the company to continue Sir Edwin Sandys in his high office; but, before they proceeded to ballot, an agent from the palace presented himself with the message that, out of especial care for the plantation, the king nominated unto them four, of whom his pleasure was the company should choose one to be their treasurer. Desiring the royal messenger to remain, Southampton entered into a defence of the patent, and added: "The hopeful country of Virginia is a land which will find full employment for all needy people, will provide estates for all younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom, and will supply this nation with

commodities we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea, from heathen princes. This business is of so great concernment that it never can be too solemnly, too thoroughly, or too publicly examined." Sir Laurens Hyde, the learned lawyer, asked that the patent given under the great seal of England, the hand and honor of a king, might be produced. "The patent!" "The patent!" cried all; and, when it was brought forth and read, Hyde went on: "You see the point of electing a governor is thereby left to your own free choice." It was then agreed that the election should be put off until the next great and general court in midsummer term; and a committee of twelve, with Southampton at their head, was in the interim to beseech his majesty not to take from them the privilege of their letters patent. Their right was so clear that the king explained away his interference, as he had intended no more than to recommend the persons whom he nominated, and not to bar the company from the choice of any other.

When at the quarter session, near the end of June, Sir Edwin Sandys, yielding to the ill-will of the king, withdrew from competition, "the whole court immediately, with much joy and applause, nominated the earl of Southampton;" and, resolving "to surcease the balloting box," chose him by erection of hands. In response, he desired them all to put on the same minds with which he accepted the place of treasurer.

He made the condition that his friend, Sir Edwin Sandys, should give him assistance; and these, with Nicholas Ferrar, were the men who for a time managed "the great work of redeeming the noble plantation of Virginia from the ruins that seemed to hang over it:" the first celebrated for wisdom, eloquence, and sweet deportment; Sandys, for knowledge and integrity; and Nicholas Ferrar, for ability, unwearied diligence, and the strictest virtue. All three were sincere members of the British church: the first, a convert from papacy; the last, pious even to a romantic excess. All three were royalists, and all three were animated by that love of liberty which formed a part of the hereditary patriotism of an Englishman.

Under their harmonious direction the policy of the former year was continued; and more than eleven hundred persons

found their way annually to Virginia. "The people of Virginia had not been settled in their minds," and as, before the recent changes, they retained the design of ultimately returning to England, it was necessary to multiply attachments to the soil. Few women had dared to cross the Atlantic; but now the promise of prosperity induced ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt, to listen to the advice of Sandys, and embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome. They were transported at the expense of the company, and were married to its tenants, or to men who were able to support them, and who willingly defrayed the costs of their passage, which were rigorously demanded. The adventure, which had been in part a mercantile speculation, succeeded so well that it was proposed to send the next year another consignment of one hundred; but, before these could be collected, the company found itself so poor that its design could be accomplished only by a subscription. After some delays, sixty were actually despatched, maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended. The price rose from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more; so that all the original charges might be repaid. The debt for a wife was a debt of honor, and took precedence of any other; and the company, in conferring employments, gave a preference to married men. With domestic ties, habits of thrift were formed. Within three years, fifty patents for land were granted, and a state rose on solid foundations in the New World. Virginia was a place of refuge even for Puritans.

Before Virginia had been planted, King James found in his hostility to the use of tobacco a convenient argument for the excessive tax which a royal ordinance imposed on its consumption. When the weed had become the staple of Virginia, the sale of it in England was prohibited unless the heavy impost had been paid, and a new proclamation forbade its culture in England and Wales. In the parliament of 1621 Lord Coke reminded the commons of the usurpation of authority on the part of the monarch who had taxed the produce of the colonies without their consent and without an act of the national legislature.

Besides providing for emigration, the London company, under the lead of Southampton, proceeded to redress former wrongs, and to protect colonial liberty by written guarantees. In the case of the appeal to the London company from sentence of death pronounced by Argall, his friends, with the earl of Warwick at their head, excused him by pretending that martial law is the noblest kind of trial, because soldiers and men of the sword were the judges. This opinion was overthrown, and the right of the colonists to trial by jury sustained. Nor was it long before the freedom of the northern fisheries was equally asserted, and the monopoly of a rival corporation successfully opposed. Lord Bacon, who, at the time of Newport's first voyage with emigrants for Virginia, classed the enterprise with the romance of "Amadis de Gaul," now said of the plantation: "Certainly it is with the kingdoms of earth as it is in the kingdom of heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard-seed proves a great tree. Who can tell?" "Should the plantation go on increasing as under the government of that popular Lord Southampton," said Gondomar, then Spanish ambassador in England, "my master's West Indies and his Mexico will shortly be visited, by sea and by land, from those planters in Virginia."

The company had silently approved the colonial assembly which had been convened by Sir George Yeardley; on the twenty-fourth of July, 1621, a memorable ordinance established for the colony a written constitution. The prescribed form of government was analogous to the English constitution, and was, with some modifications, the model of the systems which were afterward introduced into the various royal provinces. Its purpose was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression." Its terms are few and simple: a governor, to be appointed by the company; a permanent council, likewise to be appointed by the company; a general assembly, to be convened yearly, and to consist of the members of the council, and of two burgesses to be chosen from each of the several plantations by the respective inhabitants. The assembly might exercise full legislative authority, a negative voice being reserved to the governor; but no law or ordinance

would be valid unless ratified by the company in England. It was further agreed that, after the government of the colony should have once been framed, no orders of the court in London should bind the colony, unless they should in like manner be ratified by the general assembly. The courts of justice were required to conform to the laws and manner of trial used in the realm of England.

Such was the constitution which Sir Francis Wyatt, the successor of the mild but inefficient Yeardley, was commissioned to bear to the colony. The system of representative government and trial by jury thus became in the new hemisphere an acknowledged right. On this ordinance Virginia erected the superstructure of her liberties. Its influences were wide and enduring, and can be traced through all her history. It constituted the plantation, in its infancy, a nursery of freemen; and succeeding generations learned to cherish institutions which were as old as the first period of the prosperity of their fathers. The privileges then conceded could never be wrested from the Virginians; and, as new colonies arose at the south, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those enjoyed by their elder rival. The London company merits the praise of having auspicated liberty in America. It may be doubted whether any public act during the reign of King James was of more permanent or pervading influence; and it reflects honor on Sir Edwin Sandys, the earl of Southampton, Nicholas Ferrar, and the patriot royalists of England, that, though they were unable to establish guarantees of a liberal administration at home, they were careful to connect popular freedom inseparably with the life, prosperity, and state of society of Virginia.

CHAPTER VIII.

SLAVERY. DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

While Virginia, by the concession of a representative government, was constituted the asylum of liberty, it became the abode of hereditary bondsmen.

Slavery and the slave-trade are older than the records of human society; they are found to have existed wherever the savage hunter began to assume the habits of pastoral or agricultural life; and, with the exception of Australasia, they have extended to every portion of the globe. The oldest monuments of human labor on the Egyptian soil are the results of slave labor. The founder of the Jewish people was a slave-holder and a purchaser of slaves. The Hebrews, when they broke from their own thraldom, planted slavery in the promised land. Tyre, the oldest commercial city of Phœnicia, was, like Babylon, a market "for the persons of men."

Old as are the traditions of Greece, slavery is older. The wrath of Achilles grew out of a quarrel for a slave; Grecian dames had servile attendants; the heroes before Troy made excursions into the neighboring villages and towns to enslave the inhabitants. Greek pirates, roving, like the corsairs of Barbary, in quest of men, laid the foundations of Greek commerce; each commercial town was a slave-mart; and every cottage near the sea-side was in danger from the kidnapper. Greeks enslaved each other. The language of Homer was the mother tongue of the Helots; the Grecian city that warred on its neighbor city made of its captives a source of profit; the hero of Macedon sold men of his own kindred and language into hopeless slavery. More than four centuries before the Christian era, Alcidamas, a pupil of Gorgias,

taught that "God has sent forth all men free; nature has made no man slave." While one class of Greek authors of that period confounded the authority of master and head of a family, others asserted that the relation of master and slave is conventional; that freedom is the law of nature, which knows no difference between master and slave; that slavery is the child of violence, and inherently unjust. "A man, O my master," so speaks the slave in a comedy of Philemon, "because he is a slave, does not cease to be a man. He is of the same flesh with you. Nature makes no slaves." Aristotle, though he recognises "living chattels" as a part of the complete family, has left on record his most deliberate judgment, that the prize of freedom should be placed within the reach of every slave. Yet the idea of universal free labor was only a dormant bud, not to be quickened for many centuries.

Slavery hastened the fall of the commonwealth of Rome. The power of the father to sell his children, of the creditor to sell his insolvent debtor, of the warrior to sell his captive, carried it into the bosom of every family, into the conditions of every contract, into the heart of every unhappy land that was invaded by the Roman eagle. The slave-markets of Rome were filled with men of various nations and colors. "Slaves are they!" writes Seneca; "say that they are men." The golden-mouthed orator Dion inveighs against hereditary slavery as at war with right. "By the law of nature, all men are born free," are the words of Ulpian. The Roman digests pronounce slavery "contrary to nature."

In the middle age the pirate and the kidnapper and the conqueror still continued the slave-trade. The Saxon race carried the most repulsive forms of slavery to England, where not half the population could assert a right to freedom, and where the price of a man was but four times the price of an ox. In defiance of severe penalties, the Saxons long continued to sell their own kindred into slavery on the continent. Even after the conquest, slaves were exported from England to Ireland, till, in 1102, a national synod of the Irish, to remove the pretext for an invasion, decreed the emancipation of all their English slaves.

The German nations made the shores of the Baltic the scenes of the same traffic; and the Dnieper formed the highway on which Russian merchants conveyed slaves from the markets of Russia to Constantinople. The wretched often submitted to bondage as the only refuge from want. But it was the long wars between German and Slavonic tribes which imparted to the slave-trade so great activity that in every country of Western Europe the whole class of bondmen took and still retain the name of Slaves.

In Sicily, natives of Asia and Africa were exposed for sale. From extreme poverty the Arab father would pawn even his children to the Italian merchant. Rome itself long remained a mart where Christian slaves were exposed for sale, to supply the market of Mahometans. The Venetians purchased alike infidels and Christians, and sold them again to the Arabs in Sicily and Spain. Christian and Jewish avarice supplied the slave-market of the Saracens. The trade, though censured by the church and prohibited by the laws of Venice, was not effectually checked till the mere presence in a Venetian ship was made the sufficient evidence of freedom.

In the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III. had written that, "nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty." Yet, as among Mahometans the captive Christian had no alternative but apostasy or servitude, the captive infidel was treated in Christendom with corresponding intolerance. In the camp of the leader whose pious arms redeemed the sepulchre of Christ from the mixed nations of Asia and Libya, the price of a war-horse was three slaves. The Turks, whose law forbade the enslaving of Mussulmans, continued to sell Christian and other captives; and Smith, the third president of Virginia, relates that he was himself a runaway from Turkish bondage.

All this might have had no influence on the destinies of America but for the long and doubtful struggles between Christians and Moors in the west of Europe, where, for more than seven centuries, the two religions were arrayed against each other, and bondage was the reciprocal doom of the captive. France and Italy were filled with Saracen slaves; the number of them sold into Christian bondage exceeded the

number of all the Christians ever sold by the pirates of Barbary. The clergy felt no sympathy for the unbeliever. The final victory of the Spaniards over the Moors of Granada, an event contemporary with the discovery of America, was signalized by a great emigration of the Moors to the coasts of Northern Africa, where each mercantile city became a nest of pirates, and every Christian the wonted booty of the corsair: an indiscriminate and retaliating bigotry gave to all Africans the denomination of Moors, and without scruple reduced them to bondage.

The clergy had broken up the Christian slave-markets at Bristol and at Hamburg, at Lyons and at Rome. In language addressed half to the courts of law and half to the people, Louis X., by the advice of the jurists of France, in July, 1315, published the ordinance that, by the law of nature, every man ought to be born free; that serfs were held in bondage only by a suspension of their early and natural rights; that liberty should be restored to them throughout the kingdom so far as the royal power extended; and every master of slaves was invited to follow his example by bringing them all back to their original state of freedom. Some years later, John de Wycliffe asserted the unchristian character of slavery. At the epoch of the discovery of America the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the trade in Christian slaves, and was demanding the emancipation of the serfs; but the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity.

Yet negro slavery is not an invention of the white man. As Greeks enslaved Greeks, as Anglo-Saxons dealt in Anglo-Saxons, so the earliest accounts of the land of the black men bear witness that negro masters held men of their own race as slaves, and sold them to others. This the oldest Greek historian commemorates. Negro slaves were seen in classic Greece, and were known at Rome and in the Roman empire. About the year 990, Moorish merchants from the Barbary coast reached the cities of Nigritia, and established an uninterrupted exchange of Saracen and European luxuries for the gold and slaves of Central Africa.

Not long after the conquests of the Portuguese in Barbary, their navy frequented the ports of Western Africa; and the

first ships, which, in 1441, sailed so far south as Cape Blanco, returned not with negroes, but with Moors. These were treated as strangers, from whom information respecting their native country was to be derived. Antony Gonzalez, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their ancient homes. He did so; and the Moors gave him as their ransom not gold only, but "black Moors" with curled hair. Negro slaves immediately became an object of commerce. The historian of the maritime discoveries of Spain even claims that she anticipated the Portuguese. The merchants of Seville imported gold dust and slaves from the western coast of Africa; so that negro slavery was established in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville," before the first voyage of Columbus.

The adventurers of those days by sea, joining the creed of bigots with the designs of pirates and heroes, esteemed as their rightful plunder the wealth of the countries which they might discover, and the inhabitants, if Christians, as their subjects; if infidels, as their slaves. There was hardly a convenient harbor on the Atlantic frontier of the United States which was not entered by slavers. The red men of the wilderness, unlike the Africans, among whom slavery had existed from immemorial time, would never abet the foreign merchant in the nefarious traffic. Fraud and force remained, therefore, the means by which, near Newfoundland or Florida, on the shores of the Atlantic, or among the Indians of the Mississippi valley, Cortereal and Vasquez de Ayllon, Porcallo and Soto, and private adventurers, transported the natives of North America into slavery in Europe and the Spanish West Indies. Columbus himself, in 1494, enslaving five hundred native Americans, sent them to Spain, that they might be publicly sold at Seville. The generous Isabella, in 1500, commanded the liberation of the Indians held in bondage in her European possessions. Yet her active benevolence extended neither to the Moors nor to the Africans; and even her compassion for the men of the New World was but transient. The commissions for making discoveries, issued a few days before and after her interference to rescue those whom Columbus had enslaved, reserved for herself and Ferdinand a fourth part of the slaves which the

new kingdoms might contain. The slavery of Indians was recognised as lawful.

A royal edict of 1501 permitted negro slaves, born in slavery among Christians, to be transported. Within two years there were such numbers of Africans in Hispaniola that Ovando, the governor of the island, entreated that their coming might be restrained. For a short time the Spanish government forbade the introduction of negro slaves who had been bred in Moorish families, and allowed only those who were said to have been instructed in the Christian faith to be transported to the West Indies, under the plea that they might assist in converting infidel nations. But, after the culture of sugar was begun, the system of slavery easily overcame the scruples of men in power. King Ferdinand himself sent from Seville fifty slaves to labor in the mines, and promised to send more; and, because it was said that one negro could do the work of four Indians, the direct transportation of slaves from Guinea to Hispaniola was, in 1511, enjoined by a royal ordinance, and deliberately sanctioned by successive decrees. Was it not natural that Charles V., a youthful monarch, at his accession in 1516, should have readily granted licenses to the Flemings to transport negroes to the colonies? The benevolent Las Casas, who felt for the native inhabitants of the New World all that the purest missionary zeal could inspire, and who had seen them vanish away like dew before the cruelties of the Spaniards while the African thrived under the tropical sun, in 1517 suggested that negroes might still further be employed to perform the severe toils which they alone could endure. The board of trade at Seville was consulted, to learn how many slaves would be required; four for each Spanish emigrant had been proposed; deliberate calculation fixed the number at four thousand a year. In 1518 the monopoly, for eight years, of annually importing four thousand slaves into the West Indies, was granted by Charles V. to La Bresa, one of his favorites, and was sold to the Genoese. The buyers of the contract purchased their slaves of the Portuguese, to whom a series of papal bulls had indeed granted the exclusive commerce with Western Africa; but the slave-trade between Africa and America was never expressly sanctioned

by the see of Rome. Leo X. declared that "not the Christian religion only, but Nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery." Paul III., two years after he had given authority to make slaves of every English person who would not assist in the expulsion of Henry VIII., in two separate briefs imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians, or any other class of men. Ximenes, the stern grand inquisitor, the austere but ambitious Franciscan, refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola, believing that the favorable climate would increase their numbers, and infallibly lead them to a successful revolt. Hayti, the first spot in America that received African slaves, was the first to set the example of African liberty.

The odious distinction of having first interested England in the slave-trade belongs to Sir John Hawkins. In 1562, he transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola; the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls, attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth; and five years later she took shares in a new expedition, though the commerce, on the part of the English, in Spanish ports, was by the law of Spain illicit, as well as by the law of morals detestable.

Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. Once at least James sent over convicts, and once at least the city of London a hundred homeless children from its streets. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge by his labor the costs of emigration. White servants came to be a usual article of merchandise. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were to be purchased on shipboard. Not the Scots only, who were taken in the field of Dunbar, were sold into servitude in New England, but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester. The leaders in the insurrection of Penruddoc, in spite of the remonstrance of Haselrig and Henry Vane, were shipped to America. At the corresponding period, in Ireland, the exportation of Irish Catholics was frequent. In 1672, the average price in the colonies, where five years of service were due, was about ten pounds, while a negro was worth twenty or twenty-five pounds.

The condition of apprenticed servants in Virginia differed

from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their bondage; the laws of the colony favored their early enfranchisement. But this state of labor easily admitted the introduction of perpetual servitude. In the month of August, 1619, five years after the commons of France had petitioned for the emancipation of every serf in every fief, a Dutch man-of-war entered James river and landed twenty negroes for sale. This is the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery; but the traffic would have been checked in its infancy had it remained with the Dutch. Thirty years after this first importation of Africans, Virginia to one black contained fifty whites; and, after seventy years of its colonial existence, the number of its negro slaves was proportionably much less than in several northern states at the time of the war of independence. Had no other form of servitude been known in Virginia than of men of the same race, every difficulty would have been promptly obviated. But the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a temperate zone. Who could foretell the issue? The negro race, from its introduction, was regarded with disgust, and its union with the whites forbidden under ignominious penalties.

If Wyatt, on his arrival in Virginia in 1621, found the evil of negro slavery engrafted on the social system, he brought with him the memorable ordinance on which the fabric of colonial liberty was to rest, and which was interpreted by his instructions in a manner favorable to the colonists. An amnesty of ancient feuds was proclaimed. In November and December, 1621, the first session of an assembly under the written constitution was held. The production of silk engaged attention; but silk-worms could not be cared for where every comfort of household existence required to be created. As little was the successful culture of the vine possible, although the company had repeatedly sent vine-dressers. In 1621, the seeds of cotton were planted as an experiment; and their "plentiful coming up" was a subject of interest in America and England. From this year, too, dates the sending of beehives to Virginia, and of skilful workmen to extract iron from the ore. At the instance of George Sandys, five-and-twenty shipwrights came over in 1622.

Nor did the company neglect education and religious worship. The bishop of London collected and paid a thousand pounds toward a university, which, like the several churches of the colony, was liberally endowed with domains, and fostered by public and private charity. But the plan of obtaining for them a revenue through a permanent tenantry could meet with no success where freeholds were so easily obtained. "Needless novelties" in the forms of worship were prohibited by an instruction from England.

Between the Indians and the English there had been quarrels, but no wars. From the first the power of the natives had been despised; their strongest weapons were such arrows as they could shape without the use of iron, such hatchets as could be made from stone; and an English mastiff seemed to them a terrible adversary. Within sixty miles of Jamestown, it is computed, there were no more than five thousand souls, or about fifteen hundred warriors. The rule of Powhatan comprehended about eight thousand square miles, thirty tribes, and twenty-four hundred warriors. The natives dwelt in hamlets, with from forty to sixty in each household. Few assemblages of wigwams contained more than two hundred persons. It was unusual for any large portion of these tribes to meet together. They were regarded with contempt or compassion. No uniform care had been taken to conciliate their good-will, although their condition had been improved by some of the arts of civilized life. When Wyatt arrived, he assured them of his wish to preserve inviolable peace. An old law, which made death the penalty for teaching the Indians to use a musket, was forgotten, and they were employed as fowlers and huntsmen. The plantations of the English were extended for one hundred and forty miles on both sides of the James river and toward the Potomac, wherever rich grounds invited to the culture of tobacco.

Powhatan, the friend of the English, died in 1618; and his brother was the heir to his influence. By this time the natives were near being driven "to seek a stranger countrie;" to save their ancient dwelling-places, it seemed to them that the English must be exterminated. On the twenty-second of March, 1622, at mid-day, they fell upon the unsuspecting pop-

ulation; children and women, as well as men, the missionary, the benefactor—all were slain with every aggravation of cruelty. In one hour three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off. The night before the execution of the conspiracy it had been revealed by a converted Indian to an Englishman whom he wished to rescue; Jamestown and the nearest settlements were prepared against the attack; the savages, as timid as they were ferocious, fled at the appearance of wakeful resistance; and the larger part of the colony was saved.

But public works were abandoned, and the settlements reduced from eighty plantations to less than eight. Sickness prevailed among the dispirited survivors, who were crowded into narrow quarters; some returned to their mother country. The number of inhabitants had exceeded four thousand; a year after the massacre there remained only two thousand five hundred.

The blood of the victims became the nurture of the plantation. Even King James, for a moment, affected generosity; gave from the Tower of London arms which had been thrown by as good for nothing in Europe; and made fair promises, which were never fulfilled. The city of London and many private persons displayed hearty liberality. The London company, which in May, 1622, had elected Nicholas Ferrar to be Lord Southampton's deputy, "redoubled their courages," and urged the Virginians not to change their abode, nor apply all their thoughts to staple commodities, but "to embellish the Sparta upon which they had lighted." While they bade them "not to rely upon anything but themselves," they yet promised "that there should not be left any meanes unattempted on their part." They announced their purpose of sending, before the next spring, four hundred young men, well furnished, out of England and Wales; and that private undertakers had engaged to take over many hundreds more. As to the Indians, they wrote: "The innocent blood of so many Christians doth in justice cry out for revenge. We must advise you to root out a people so cursed, at least to the removal of them far from you. Wherefore, as they have merited, let them have a perpetual war without peace or truce, and without mercy too. Put in execution all ways and means

for their destruction, not omitting to reward their neighboring enemies upon the bringing in of their heads."

The arrival of these instructions found the Virginians already involved in a war of extermination. First in the field was George Sandys, the colonial treasurer, who headed two expeditions; next, Yeardley, the governor, invaded the towns of Opechancanough; Captain Madison entered the Potomac. The Indians promptly fled on indications of watchfulness and resistance; but the midnight surprise, the ambuscade by day, might be feared; and they proved to be "an enemy not suddenly to be destroyed with the sword, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and advantages of the wood to which upon all assaults they retired."

In July, 1623, the inhabitants of the several settlements, in parties, under commissioned officers, fell upon the adjoining savages; and a law of the general assembly commanded that in July of 1624 the attack should be repeated. Six years later, the colonial statute-book proves that ruthless schemes were still meditated; for it was enacted that no peace should be concluded with the Indians—a law which remained in force for two years.

Meantime, a change was preparing in the relations of the colony with the parent state. The earl of Southampton and his friends gave their services freely, having no motive but the advancement of the plantation; the adherents of the former treasurer, among whom Argall was conspicuous, under the lead of the earl of Warwick, constituted a relentless faction. As the shares in the stock were of little value, the contests were chiefly for the direction, and were not so much the wranglings of disappointed merchants as the conflict of political parties. The meetings of the company, which now consisted of a thousand adventurers, of whom two hundred or more usually appeared at the quarter courts, were the scenes for freedom of debate, where the patriots, who in parliament advocated the cause of liberty, triumphantly opposed the decrees of the privy council on subjects connected with the rights of Virginia. The unsuccessful party sought an ally in the king, who desired to recover the authority of which he had deprived himself by a charter of his own concession.

Moreover, Gondomar, the Spanish envoy, said to him: "The Virginia courts are but a seminary to a seditious parliament." Besides, he was haunted by a passion to wed his eldest surviving son to a princess of the house of Spain, and therefore courted the favor of the Spanish monarch, even at the sacrifice of an English colony.

Unable to get the control of the company by overawing their assemblies, the monarch resolved upon the sequestration of the patent; and raised no other question than how the law of England could most plausibly be made the instrument of tyranny. An allegation of grievances, set forth by the royalist faction in a petition to the king, was, in May, 1623, fully refuted by the company, and the ground of discontent was answered by an explanatory declaration. Yet commissioners were appointed to engage in a general investigation of the concerns of the corporation; the records were seized, the deputy treasurer imprisoned, and private letters from Virginia intercepted for inspection. Captain John Smith was particularly examined; his honest answers exposed the defective arrangements of previous years, and he favored the cancelling of the charter as an act of benevolence to the colony.

To the Virginia quarter court, held on the twenty-fifth of June for the annual election, James sent a very short letter, in which he said: "Our will and pleasure is that you do forbear the election of any officers until to-morrow fortnight at the soonest, but let those that be already remain as they are in the mean time." The reading of the letter was followed by a long and general silence, after which it was voted that the present officers should be continued because, by the express words of their charter, choice could be made only at a quarter court.

The king, enraged at the company, held the citing of their charter as a mere pretext to thwart his command; and on the last day of July the attorney-general, to whom the conduct of the company was referred, gave it as his opinion that the king might justly resume the government of Virginia, and, should they not voluntarily yield, could call in their patent by legal proceedings. In pursuance of this advice, the king, in October, by an order in council, made known to the company that

the disasters of Virginia were a consequence of their ill government; that he had resolved, by a new charter, to reserve to himself the appointment of the officers in England, a negative on appointments in Virginia, and the supreme control of all colonial affairs. Private interests were to be sacredly preserved, and all grants of land to be renewed and confirmed. Should the company resist the change, its patent would be recalled. This was in substance a proposition to revert to the charter originally granted.

On the seventeenth the order was read to the Virginia company in court three several times; after the reading, for a long while no man spoke a word. They then desired a month's delay, that all their members might take part in the final decision. The privy council peremptorily summoned them to appear before it and make their answer at the end of three days. At the expiration of that time the surrender of the charter was refused by a vote of threescore against nine.

But the decision of the king was already taken; and, on the twenty-fourth, commissioners were appointed to proceed to Virginia and inquire into the state of the plantation. John Harvey and Samuel Matthews, both distinguished in the annals of Virginia, were of the committee.

On the tenth of November a writ of quo warranto was issued against the company. On the nineteenth, the next quarter court, the adventurers, seven only opposing, confirmed the former refusal to surrender the charter, and made preparations for defence. For that purpose, their papers were for a season restored; certified copies of them, made by the care and at the expense of Nicholas Ferrar, are now in the library of congress.

While these things were transacting in England, the commissioners, early in 1624, arrived in the colony. The general assembly was immediately convened. The company had refuted the allegations of King James, as opposed to their interests; the colonists replied to them, as contrary to their honor and good name. The principal prayer was, that the governors might not have absolute power; and that the liberty of popular assemblies might be retained; "for," say they, "nothing can conduce more to the public satisfaction and the public

utility." In support of this solicitation, an agent was appointed to repair to England; and, to defray the expenses of the mission, a tax of four pounds of the best tobacco was levied upon every male who was above sixteen years and had been in the colony a twelvemonth. The commissioner unfortunately died on his passage to Europe. The colony continued to entreat the king not to give credit to the declarations in favor of the truly miserable years of Sir Thomas Smythe's government, and to repel the imputations on that of Southampton and Ferrar as malicious.

In vain was it attempted, by means of intimidation and promises of royal favor, to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. Under that charter the assembly was itself convened; and, after prudently rejecting a proposition which might have endangered its own existence, it proceeded to memorable acts of independent legislation.

The rights of property were strictly maintained against arbitrary taxation. "The governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levyed and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoynt." Virginia, the oldest colony, set the great example of a just and firm legislation on the management of the public money. The rights of personal liberty were asserted, and the power of the executive circumscribed. The several governors had in vain attempted, by penal statutes, to promote the culture of corn; the true remedy was now discovered by the colonial legislature. "For the encouragement of men to plant store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deare as he can." The reports of controversies in England rendered it necessary to provide for the public tranquillity by an express enactment "that no person within the colony, upon the rumor of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present government." These laws, so judiciously framed, show how readily, with the aid of free discussion, men become good legislators on their own concerns.

While the royal London commissioners were urging the Virginians to renounce their right to the privileges which they

exercised so well, the English parliament was in session; and a gleam of hope revived in the company, as in April, 1624, Ferrar presented their elaborate petition for redress to the grand inquest of the kingdom. The house of commons took up the business reluctantly, and appointed the twenty-eighth of April for its consideration. But on that day, before any progress was made, there came a letter from the king: "That he both already had, and would also hereafter take the affair of the Virginia company into his own most serious consideration and care; and that, by the next parliament, they should all see he would make it one of his masterpieces, as it well deserved to be." The house assented by a general silence, "but not without soft muttering that any other business might in the same way be taken out of the hands of parliament." Sir Edwin Sandys was able to secure for the staple of Virginia complete protection in the English market against foreign tobacco, by a petition from the commons, which was followed by a royal proclamation. On the sixteenth of June, 1624, the last day of the Trinity term, judgment was given against the treasurer and company, and the patents were cancelled; but not till the company had fulfilled its high destiny by conceding irrevocably a liberal form of government to Englishmen in Virginia.

Meantime, commissioners arrived from the colony, and made their report to the king. They enumerated the disasters which had befallen the infant settlement; they eulogized the soil and the climate; they held up the plantations as of great national importance, and an honorable monument of the reign of King James; and they expressed a preference for the original constitution of 1606. Supported by their advice, the king resolved himself to "take care for the government of the country." In its domestic government and franchises no immediate change was made. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London company, was, in August, confirmed in office; and he and his council were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limi-

tation formally sanctioned the continuance of popular assemblies. The king, in appointing the council in Virginia, refused to nominate the embittered partisans of the court faction, and formed the administration on the principles of accommodation. But death prevented the royal legislator from preparing for the colony a code of fundamental laws.

CHAPTER IX.

RESTRICTIONS ON COLONIAL COMMERCE.

Ascending the throne on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, in his twenty-fifth year, Charles I. inherited the principles and was governed by the favorite of his father. The rejoicings in consequence of his recent nuptials with a Bourbon princess, and preparations for a parliament, left him little leisure for American affairs. In his eager pursuit of a revenue for the crown, his first Virginia measure was a proclamation, issued within a fortnight of his accession; it confirmed to Virginia and the Somer isles the exclusive supply of the British market with tobacco. After a few days a new proclamation appeared, in which he announced his fixed resolution of becoming, through his agents, the sole factor of the planters. When, early in 1626, Wyatt retired, the reappointment of Sir George Yeardley was in itself a guarantee that, as "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate," so the representative government would be maintained; for by Yeardley it had been introduced. In his commission, in which William Clayborne, described as "a person of quality and trust," is named as secretary, the monarch expressed his desire to encourage and perfect the plantation; "the same means that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony" were continued; and the power of the governor and council was limited, as in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. The words were interpreted as favoring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on a revenue, confirmed the existence of a popular assembly. Virginia rose rapidly in public esteem; in 1627 a

thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for the products of its soil.

In November of that year the career of Yeardley was closed by death. Posterity retains a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere; the colonists, in a letter to the privy council, pronounced a eulogy on his virtues. The day after his burial, and in the absence of John Harvey who was named in Yeardley's commission as his eventual successor, Francis West was elected governor; for the council was authorized to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case should require."

In the preceding August the king, by a letter of instructions to the governor and council, offered to contract for the whole crop of tobacco, desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. In March, 1628, the assembly, in its reply, which was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses, acquiesced in the royal monopoly, but protested against its being farmed out to individuals. The Virginians, happier than the people of England, enjoyed a faithful representative government; and, through resident planters who composed the council, they repeatedly made choice of their own governor. When West designed to embark for Europe, his place was supplied by the election of John Pott, the best surgeon and physician in the colony.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England than the king issued a commission to Harvey as governor. The instrument, while it renewed the limitations which had previously been set to the executive authority, permitted the governor to supply all vacancies occurring in the council in Virginia, subject to approval.

In 1629, after the appointment of Harvey and before his return to America, Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. Its government pursued him as a Romanist, and would not suffer him to plant within its jurisdiction. On the other hand, the people of New Plymouth were invited to abandon their cold and sterile abode for the milder regions on Delaware bay—a plain indication that Puritans were not as yet molested.

Late in the year Harvey arrived in Virginia. He met his first assembly of burgesses in 1630, a week before Easter. As his first appearance in America had been with no friendly designs, so now he was the support of those who desired large grants of land and separate jurisdictions; and he preferred the interests of his partisans and patrons, especially Lord Baltimore, to the welfare of the colony. Moreover, he held a warrant to receive for himself all fines arising from any sentence of its courts of justice. In his proceedings he was rough and passionate, pronouncing hasty judgments and quarrelling with the council; yet, while arbitrary power was rapidly advancing in England, the Virginians uninterruptedly enjoyed independent legislation; through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, guarded the forts with their own soldiers at their own charge, and gave publicity to their statutes. When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council, the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed were confirmed. Indeed, they had not been questioned. The governor had advised that he should have, for the time being, a negative voice on all acts of legislation; and the government, in its reply, had suggested that the laws made in Virginia should stand only as propositions until the king should ratify them under his great seal; but the limitation was not introduced into his commission. De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1632–'33, found reason to praise the advanced condition of the settlement, the abundance of its products, and the liberality of its government.

The community was nevertheless disturbed because fines, now the perquisites of the governor, were rashly imposed, and relentlessly exacted. In 1635, the discontent of Virginia, at the dismemberment of its territory by the patent of Lord Baltimore, was at its height. While Clayborne, who had been superseded as secretary, resisted the jurisdiction of Maryland over Kent island and over trade in the Chesapeake, Harvey courted the favor of Baltimore. The colonists were fired with indignation that their governor, who was hateful to them for his self-will and violence, should betray their territorial interests.

In the latter part of April a multitude of people, among whom was the sheriff of York, assembled in that place at the house of William Barrene, who was the chief speaker at the meeting. Francis Pott read a petition written by his brother, the governor by election whom Harvey had superseded, and subscribed by many from other parts of the country, complaining of a tax imposed by Harvey; of the want of justice in his administration; and of his unadvised and dangerous dealings with the Indians. For this act the governor ordered the sheriff, Francis Pott, and another, to be apprehended, and called the council to assist in suppressing these mutinous gatherings. But, on the twenty-eighth, Matthews, an old planter, and other members of the council, came to his house, armed, and attended by fifty musketeers. John Utie, a councillor, struck him on the shoulder, and said: "I arrest you for treason;" which consisted, as they said, in going about to betray their forts into the hands of their enemies of Maryland. The musketeers were ordered to draw back until there should be use for them, and guards were stationed in all the approaches to the house. The three prisoners were set at liberty. The petition against the governor was produced, and made the pretext for calling for an assembly, by which, as a proclamation announced, complaints against the governor would be heard. Matthews, a man of quick temper, whom Harvey had opposed at the board with exceeding animosity, informed him that the fury against him could not be appeased. He attempted to make terms with the council; but they would yield to none of his conditions, and chose in his place John West, who immediately assumed the government. Harvey finally consented to go to England, and there make answer to their complaints. He professed to fear "that the mutineers intended no less than the subversion of Maryland."

On the eleventh of December the cause of Sir John Harvey was investigated by the privy council, the king himself presiding. "To send hither the governor," said Charles, "is an assumption of the regal power; it is necessary to send him back, though to stay but a day; if he can clear himself, he shall remain longer than he otherwise would have done." The commissioners appointed by the council of Vir-

ginia to present their complaints had not arrived. In their absence, Harvey pleaded that there was no particular charge against him. It appeared that he had assumed power to place and displace members of the council, and that under the provocation of ill language he had struck one of them and sequestered another. But he denied that he had unduly favored trade with the Dutch, or that he had countenanced the popish religion in Maryland; and he even denied that mass was publicly said in that province.

A few days later, in accordance with the request of Lord Baltimore, Harvey received a new commission, which limited his powers as before, but reserved the appointments to vacancies in the council to the government in England. In consequence of the unseaworthiness of the king's ship in which he was to have sailed, he did not reach Virginia until January, 1637, after an absence of more than a year and a half. Without delay, he met the council at the church of Elizabeth City, published the king's proclamation, pardoning, with a few exceptions, all persons who had given aid in the late practices against him; and summoned an assembly for the following February. During the period of his office the accustomed legislative rights of the colony were not impaired.

In November, 1639, he was superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, who, in the following January, convened a general assembly. In Virginia, debts had been contracted to be paid in tobacco; and as the article rose in value, in consequence of laws restricting its culture, the legislature did not scruple to enact that "no man need pay more than two thirds of his debt during the stint;" and that all creditors should take "forty pounds for a hundred." Beyond this, the second administration of Wyatt passed silently away.

After two years, Sir William Berkeley was constituted governor. The members of his council were to take part with him in supplying vacancies in that body. His instructions enjoined him to be careful that God should be served after the form established in the church of England, and not to suffer any innovation in matters of religion. Each congregation was to provide for its own minister. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance were to be tendered to residents, and recusants

"to be sent home." Justice was to be administered according to the laws of England. Besides the quarter courts, inferior courts were to be established for minor suits and offences; and probate of wills was provided for. All men above sixteen years were to bear arms. Trade with the savages without special license was forbidden. To every person who had emigrated since midsummer, 1625, a patent for fifty acres of land was ordered. The general assembly was to meet annually, the governor having a negative voice on its acts. With the consent of the assembly, the residence of the government might be removed to a more healthful place, which should take the old name of Jamestown. One of the instructions imposed by the prerogative most severe and unwarrantable restrictions on the liberty of trade, of which the nature will presently be explained.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley assumed the government. He summoned immediately the colonial legislature. The memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs. The lapse of years had so far effaced the divisions which grew out of the dissolution of the company that, when George Sandys presented to the commons of England a petition praying for the restoration of the ancient patents, the colonial assembly disavowed the design, and, after a full debate, opposed it by a protest. They asserted the necessity of the freedom of trade, because it "is the blood and life of a commonwealth." And they defended their preference of self-government through a colonial legislature, by a conclusive argument: "There is more likelyhood that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better grounds prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England." The king, who regarded "all corporations as refractory to" monarchy itself, declared, in reply, his purpose not to change a form of government in which they "received so much content and satisfaction."

The Virginians, aided by Sir William Berkeley, could now deliberately perfect their civil condition. Condemnations to service had been a usual punishment; these were abolished. In the courts of justice, a near approach was made to the laws and customs of England. Religion was provided for, the law

about land titles adjusted, an amicable treaty with Maryland matured, and peace with the Indians confirmed. Taxes were assessed, not in proportion to numbers, but to men's abilities and estates. The spirit of liberty, which moved in the English parliament, belonged equally to the colony; and the rights of property, the freedom of industry, the exercise of civil franchises, seemed to be secured to themselves and their posterity. "A future immunity from taxes and impositions," except such as should be freely voted for their own wants, "was expected as the fruits of the endeavors of their legislature." The restraints with which their navigation was threatened were not enforced, and Virginia enjoyed nearly all the liberties which a monarch could concede, and retain his supremacy.

The triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament in November, 1643, with full authority over the plantations, among whom were Haselrig, Henry Vane, Pym, and Cromwell, promised, indeed, freedom from English taxation; but this immunity was already enjoyed. They gave the colony liberty to choose its own governor; but it had no dislike to Berkeley; and, though there was a party for the parliament, yet the king's authority, which Charles had ever mildly exercised, was maintained.

The condition of contending factions in England had brought the opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the act of the assembly, restraining religious liberty, proves the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and to royalty. "Here," the tolerant Whitaker had written, "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of;" and many Puritan families, perhaps some even of the Puritan clergy, had planted themselves within the jurisdiction of Virginia. The honor of Laud had been vindicated by a judicial sentence, and south of the Potomac the decrees of the court of high commission were allowed to be valid; but there is no trace of persecutions in the earliest history of the colony. The laws were harsh: the administration seems to have been mild. A disposition to non-conformity was soon to show itself even in the council. An invitation,

which had been sent to Boston for Puritan ministers, implies a belief that they would have been admitted. But the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, in March, 1643, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the church of England, and non-conformists were banished. It was in vain that the ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. "The hearts of the people were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances;" but the missionaries were silenced by the government, and ordered to leave the country. Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant toward the way of the churches" in New England.

With the Indians no terms of peace were entertained. Hearing of the dissensions in England, they resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre. On the eighteenth of April, 1644, they began a concerted onset upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had they steeped their hands in blood before they were dismayed by the sense of their own weakness, and, after having killed three hundred persons, they fled to distant woods.

Effective measures were promptly taken by the English, and so little was apprehended, when they were on their guard, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley embarked for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his substitute. A border warfare continued, yet ten men were sufficient to protect a place of danger.

In 1646, the aged Opechancanough was taken captive, and died of wounds. In October, of that year, Necotowance, his successor, about fifteen months after Berkeley's return from England, made peace with Virginia, on the conditions of submission and a cession of lands. The original possessors of the soil began to vanish from the neighborhood of English settlements, leaving no enduring memorials but the names of rivers and mountains.

The colonists acquired the management of all their concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory annexed, in conformity to the acts of their own representatives. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and having England for their guardian against foreign oppression, rather than their ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry could bestow. Their cottages were filled with children, the ports with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England. The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand, and they who had sustained no griefs were not tempted to engage in the feuds which rent the mother country. After the execution of Charles, in 1649, though there were not wanting some who favored republicanism, the government recognised his son without dispute. The disasters of the royalists in England strengthened their party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the beheading of Charles I., and desiring no reconciliation with unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. "Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."

In June, 1650, the royal exile, from his retreat at Breda, transmitted to Berkeley a new commission, and still controlled the distribution of offices. But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. By a memorable ordinance of October third, it empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, prohibited foreign ships from trading at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." Maryland, which had taken care to acknowledge the new order of things, was not expressly included in the ordinance.

While preparations were making for the reduction of the loyal colonies, the commercial policy of England underwent a

revision, to which the interests of English merchants and ship-builders imparted consistency and durability.

No sooner had Spain and Portugal found their way round the Cape of Good Hope and to America than they claimed a monopoly of the traffic of the wider world, and the Roman religion, dividing it between them, forbade the intrusion of competitors by the pains of excommunication.

In Europe, the freedom of the seas was vindicated against Spain and Portugal by a state hardly yet recognised as independent, and driven by the stern necessity of its dense population to seek resources upon the water. Grotius, its gifted son, who first gave expression to the idea that "free ships make free goods," defended the liberty of commerce, and appealed to the judgment of all free governments and nations against the maritime restrictions, which humanity denounced as contrary to the principles of social intercourse, which justice derided as infringing the clearest natural rights, which enterprise rejected as a monstrous usurpation of the oceans and the winds. The relinquishment of navigation in the East Indies was required by Spain as the price at which its independence should be acknowledged, and the rebel republic preferred to defend its separate existence by arms rather than purchase security by circumscribing the courses of its ships. While the inglorious James of England was negotiating about points of theology, while the more unhappy Charles was struggling against the liberties of his subjects, the Dutch, a little confederacy, which had been struck from the side of Spain, a new people, scarcely known as a nation, had, by their superior skill, begun to engross the carrying trade of the world. Their ships were found in the harbors of Virginia, in the West Indian archipelago, in the south of Africa, among the tropical islands of the Indian Ocean, and even in the harbors of China and Japan. Their trading-houses were planted on the Hudson and the coast of Guinea, in Java and Brazil. One or two rocky islets in the West Indies, in part neglected by the Spaniards as unworthy of culture, furnished these daring merchants a convenient shelter for a large contraband traffic with the *terra firma*. The freedom and the enterprise of Holland acquired maritime power, and skill and wealth, such as the monopoly of Spain could never command.

The causes of the commercial greatness of Holland were forgotten in envy at its success. It ceased to appear as the gallant champion of the freedom of the seas against Spain, and became envied as the successful rival. The English government resolved to protect the English merchant. Cromwell desired to confirm the maritime power of his country; and Saint-John, a Puritan and a republican in theory, though never averse to a limited monarchy, devised the first act of navigation, which, in 1651, the politic Whitelocke introduced and carried through parliament. Henceforward, the commerce between England and her colonies, between England and the rest of the world, was to be conducted in ships solely owned, and principally manned, by Englishmen. Foreigners might bring to England nothing but the products of their respective countries, or those of which their countries were the established staples. The act was levelled against Dutch commerce, and was but a protection of British shipping; it contained no clause relating to a colonial monopoly, or specially injurious to an American colony. Of itself it inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England. In vain did the Dutch expostulate against the act as a breach of commercial amity; the parliament studied the interests of England, and would not repeal laws to please a neighbor.

A naval war followed, which Cromwell desired, and Holland endeavored to avoid. Each people kindled with national enthusiasm; and the annals of recorded time had never known so many great naval actions in such quick succession. This was the war in which Blake and Ayscue and De Ruyter gained their glory; and Tromp fixed a broom to his mast, as if to sweep the English flag from the seas.

Cromwell aspired to make England the commercial emporium of the world. His plans extended to the acquisition of harbors in the Spanish Netherlands; France was obliged to pledge her aid to conquer, and her consent to yield, Dunkirk, Mardyke, and Gravelines; and Dunkirk, in the summer of 1658, was given up to his ambassador by the French king in person. He desired harbors in the North Sea and the Baltic, and an alliance with Protestant Sweden was to secure him Bremen and Elsinore and Dantzic. In the West Indies, he

aimed at obtaining Cuba; his commanders captured Jamaica; and the attempt at the reduction of Hispaniola, then the chief possession of Spain among the islands, failed only through the incompetency or want of concert of his agents.

The protection of English shipping, thus established as a part of the British commercial policy, was the successful execution of a scheme which many centuries before had been attempted. In 1641, a new and most oppressive restriction on colonial commerce was inserted in the instructions of Sir William Berkeley. No vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbors of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country, and the king be secure of the customs which were his due. All trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden. At the moment this instruction was disregarded, but the system was sure to be revived, for it leagued together the English merchant and the English government in the oppression of those who for more than a century remained too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

The ordinance which was adopted in October, 1650, for reducing to obedience the colonies which adhered to the Stuarts, forbade all intercourse with them, except to those who had a license from parliament or the council of state. It excluded foreigners rigorously, and, in connection with the navigation act of the following year, it confirmed the monopoly of colonial commerce. This state of commercial law was modified by the manner in which the authority of the commonwealth was established. The force that was sent to reduce Barbadoes encountered, in 1652, a momentary resistance from the royalist government; but, on its surrender, the people found their liberties secured. One of their number, in a letter to Bradshaw, then president of the council of state, raised the question of coming times, saying: "The great difficulty is, how we shall have a representative with you in your government and our parliament. That two representatives be chosen by this island, to advise and consent to matters that concern this place, may be both just and necessary; for, if laws be imposed upon us without our personal or implied consent, we cannot be

accounted better than slaves, which, as all Englishmen abhor to see, so I am confident you detest to have them. This is so clear that I shall not need to enforce it with argument."

Of the commissioners whom the republican rulers of Great Britain elected to settle the authority of the English commonwealth in the Chesapeake, two of them, Richard Bennett and Clayborne, were taken from among the planters themselves; their instructions constituted them the pacificators and benefactors of their country. Only in case of resistance was war threatened; if Virginia would adhere to the commonwealth, she might be mistress of her own destiny. What opposition needed to be made to a power which seemed voluntarily to propose a virtual independence? No sooner had the Guinea frigate, in March, 1652, anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than "all thoughts of resistance were laid aside," and the colonists yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" should have all the liberties of the free-born people of England, should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly, should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty, and should have "as free trade as the people of England." All this was confirmed by the Long Parliament; but the article which was to restore to Virginia its ancient bounds, and that which covenanted that no taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives, no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent, were referred to a committee, and were never definitively acted upon.

Till the restoration, the colony of Virginia practically enjoyed liberties as large as the favored New England, and displayed equal fondness for popular sovereignty. The executive officers became elective; and so evident were the designs of all parties to promote an amicable settlement of the government, that Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, a merchant, and a Roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, unanimously chosen governor. The oath required of the burgesses made it their paramount duty to provide for "the general good and prosperity" of Virginia and its inhabitants. Under Berkeley's

administration, Bennett had been oppressed in Virginia; and now there was not the slightest effort at revenge.

The acts of 1652, which constituted the government, claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council, and the public good was declared to require "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as "the representatives of the people." It had been usual for the governor and council to sit in the assembly; the expediency of the custom was questioned, and a temporary compromise ensued; they retained their former right, but were required to take the oath which was administered to the burgesses. The house of burgesses acted as a convention of the people, distributing power as the public welfare required.

Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia. When, in 1655, Bennett retired, the assembly elected his successor, and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council, and who "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia and to the commonwealth of England," received the suffrages. Upon the report of a committee concerning the unsettled government of Virginia, the council of State in London nominated to the protector for the office of governor the very same man, as one who would satisfy all parties and interests among the colonists; but no evidence has been found that Cromwell acted upon the advice. The commissioners in the colony were chiefly engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland.

The right of electing the governor continued to be exercised by the representatives of the people, and, in 1658, Samuel Matthews, son of an old planter, was chosen to the office. But, from too exalted ideas of his station, he, with the council, became involved in an unequal contest with the assembly by which he had been elected. The burgesses had enlarged their power by excluding the governor and council from their sessions, and, having thus reserved to themselves the first free discussion of every law, had voted an adjournment from April till November. The governor and council, by message, declared the dissolution of the assembly. The legality of the dissolution was denied, and, after an oath of secrecy, every

burgess was enjoined not to betray his trust by submission. Matthews yielded, reserving a right of appeal to the protector. When the house unanimously voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory, he revoked the order of dissolution, but still referred the decision of the dispute to Cromwell. The members of the assembly, apprehensive of a limitation of colonial liberty by the reference of a political question to England, determined on the assertion of their independent powers. A committee was appointed, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief. The governor and council had ordered the dissolution of the assembly; the burgesses now annulled the former election of governor and council. Having thus exercised not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they re-elected Matthews, "who by us," they added, "shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor acknowledged the validity of his ejection by taking the oath which had just been prescribed, and the council was organized anew. The spirit of popular liberty established all its claims.

On the death of Cromwell, the burgesses deliberated in private, and unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged. But it was a more interesting question whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. The assembly declared itself satisfied with the language. But, that there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house, where, in 1659, he appeared in person, acknowledged the supreme power of electing officers to be by the present laws resident in the assembly, and pledged himself to join in addressing the new protector for special confirmation of all existing privileges. The reason for this proceeding is assigned: "that what is their privilege now may be the privilege of their posterity."

On the death of Matthews, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, at the time when the resignation of Richard left England without a government. The burgesses, who were

immediately convened, enacted "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission, which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful." This having been done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor, and, acknowledging the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognised without a scruple the authority to which he owed his elevation. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the assembly." The dominion, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.

Virginia at that day possessed not one considerable town, and her statutes favored the independence of the planter rather than the security of trade. The representatives of colonial landholders voted "the total ejection of mercenary attorneys." By a special act, emigrants were safe against suits designed to enforce engagements that had been made in Europe, and colonial obligations might be satisfied by a surrender of property. Tobacco was generally used instead of coin. Theft was hardly known, and the spirit of the criminal law was mild. The highest judicial tribunal was the assembly, which was convened once a year, or oftener. Already large landed proprietors were frequent, and plantations of two thousand acres were not unknown.

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia regulated her commerce by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the act of capitulation; the navigation act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression, and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly. The war between England and the United Provinces did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies, and though, after the treaty of peace, the trade was contraband, the English restrictions were disregarded. A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, in 1656, demanded an unlimited liberty, and we may suppose that it was not refused, for, some months before Cromwell's death, the Virginians "invited the Dutch and all

foreigners" to trade with them, on payment of no higher duty than that which was levied on such English vessels as were bound for a foreign port. Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherland and Virginia were discussed without scruple by the respective colonial governments, and, in 1660, a statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice. At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce.

Virginia was the first state in the world, with separate districts or boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where representation was organized on the principle of a suffrage embracing all payers of a tax. In 1655, an attempt was made to limit the right to housekeepers; but the very next year it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections;" and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen. Servants, when the time of their bondage was completed, became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected except in the heart of the colony; and there were so few ministers that a bounty was offered for their importation. In the reign of Charles, conformity had been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile; in 1658, under the commonwealth, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering; and religious liberty would have been perfect but for an act of intolerance, by which Quakers were banished, and their return proscribed as a felony.

Thus Virginia established the supremacy of the popular branch, freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, security from foreign taxation, and the elective franchise for every one who paid so much as a poll-tax. Proud of her own sons, she already preferred them for places of authority. Emigrants never again desired to live in England. Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged; and the population, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about

thirty thousand. Many of the recent comers had been loyalists, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters, but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; and the interests and liberties of the land which they adopted were dearer to them than the monarchical principles which they had espoused in England. Virginia had long been the home of its inhabitants. "Among many other blessings," said their statute-book, "God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony;" and the huts in the wilderness were as full as the birds' nests of the woods.

The clear atmosphere, especially of autumn, and the milder winter, delighted the comers from England. Many objects of nature were new and wonderful: the loud and frequent thunder-storms; forests, free from underwood, and replenished with sweet barks and odors; trees in the season clothed in flowers of brilliant colors; birds with gay plumage and varied melodies. Every traveller admired the mocking-bird, which repeated and excelled the notes of its rivals; and the humming-bird, so bright in its hues and so delicate in its form, quick in motion, rebounding from the blossom into which it dips its bill, and as soon returning to renew its many addresses. The rattlesnake, with the terrors of its alarum and the deadliness of its venom; the opossum, celebrated for the care of its offspring; the noisy frog, booming from the shallows like the English bittern; the flying squirrel; the myriads of pigeons, darkening the air with the immensity of their flocks, and breaking with their weight the boughs of trees on which they alighted—became the subjects of the strangest tales. The concurrent relation of Indians seemed to justify the belief that, within ten days' journey toward the setting of the sun, there was a country where gold might be washed from the sand.

Various were the employments by which the stillness of life was relieved. George Sandys, who for a time was in Virginia as treasurer for the colony, a poet, whose verse was tolerated by Dryden and praised by his friend Drayton and

by Izaak Walton, as well as by Richard Baxter, employed hours of night in translating ten books of Ovid's "Metamorphoses." The lover of the garden found the fruits of Europe improved in flavor by the joint influence of climate and soil. The chase furnished a perpetual resource. It was not long before the horse was multiplied; and to improve that noble animal was early an object of pride, soon to be favored by legislation.

The hospitality of the Virginians was proverbial. Land was cheap, and competence followed industry. There was no need of a scramble. The morasses were alive with waterfowl; the creeks abounded with oysters, heaped together in inexhaustible beds; the rivers were crowded with fish; the forests were alive with game; the woods rustled with coveys of quails and wild turkeys; and hogs, swarming like vermin, ran at large in troops. It was "the best poor man's country in the world." "If a happy peace be settled in poor England," it had been said, "then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under Heaven."

CHAPTER X.

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.

Virginia, by its second charter, extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included the soil which forms the state of Maryland. It was not long before the country toward the head of the Chesapeake was explored; settlements in Accomack were extended; and commerce was begun with tribes which Smith had been the first to visit. In 1621, Pory, the secretary of the colony, "made a discovery into the great bay," as far as the river Patuxent, which he ascended; but his voyage probably reached no farther to the north. An English settlement of a hundred men, on the eastern shore, was a consequence of his voyage. The hope "of a very good trade of furs" with the Indians animated the adventurers.

An attempt to obtain a monopoly of this intercourse was made by William Clayborne, whose resolute spirit was destined to exert a long-continued influence. His first appearance in America was as a surveyor, sent by the London company to make a map of the country. At the fall of the corporation, he had been appointed by King James a member of the council; and, on the accession of Charles, was continued in office, and, in repeated commissions, was nominated secretary of state. He further received authority from the governors of Virginia to discover the source of the bay of the Chesapeake, and explore any part of the province, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude. Upon his favorable representation, a company was formed in England for trading with the natives; and, in May, 1631, through the agency of Sir William Alexander, the Scottish proprietary of

Nova Scotia, a royal license was issued, sanctioning the commerce, and conferring on Clayborne powers of government over the companions of his voyages. Under this grant, the isle of Kent was occupied in the following August, and the right to the soil was soon after purchased of the Indians. An advanced post was established near the mouth of the Susquehanna. The settlers on Kent island were all members of the church of England; and in February, 1632, they were represented by a burgess in the grand assembly of Virginia. In March of that year, their license was confirmed by a commission from Sir John Harvey as governor of Virginia.

The United States were severally colonized by men, in origin, religious faith, and purposes, as various as their climes. Before Virginia could occupy the country north of the Potomac, a new government in that quarter was promised to Sir George Calvert. Born in Yorkshire, educated at Oxford, with a mind enlarged by extensive travel, on his entrance into life he was befriended by Sir Robert Cecil, advanced to the honors of knighthood, and at length employed as one of the two secretaries of state. In 1621, he stood with Wentworth to represent in parliament his native county, and escaped defeat, though not a resident in the shire. His capacity for business, his industry, and his fidelity to King James, are acknowledged by all historians. In the house of commons it was he who made an untimely speech for the supply of the king's purse; and, when the commons claimed their liberties as their ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, it was to Calvert the king unbosomed his anger at their use of such "anti-monarchical words." The negotiations for the marriage of the prince of Wales with a Spanish princess were conducted entirely by him. In an age of increasing divisions among Protestants, his mind sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church; and, professing his conversion without forfeiting the king's favor, in 1624, he disposed advantageously of his place, which had been granted him for life, and obtained the title of Lord Baltimore in the Irish peerage.

He had, from early years, shared the enthusiasm of England in favor of American plantations; had been a member of the great company for Virginia; and, while secretary of state,

had obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of Newfoundland, named Avalon, after the fabled isle from which King Arthur was to return alive. How zealous he was in selecting suitable emigrants, how earnest to promote order and industry, how lavishly he expended his estate in advancing the interests of his settlement—is related by those who have written of his life. He desired, as a founder of a colony, not present profit, but a reasonable expectation; and, avoiding the evils of a common stock, he left each one to enjoy the results of his own industry. Twice did he, in person, inspect his settlement. In 1629, on his second visit, with ships manned at his own charge he repelled the French, who were hovering round the coast to annoy English fishermen; and, having taken sixty of them prisoners, he secured temporary tranquillity to his countrymen and his colonists.

Notwithstanding this success, he wrote to the king from his province that the difficulties he had encountered in that place were no longer to be resisted; that from October to May both land and sea were frozen the greater part of the time; that he was forced to shift to some warmer climate of the New World; that, though his strength was much decayed, his inclination carried him naturally to "proceedings in plantations." He therefore desired the grant of a precinct of land in Virginia, with the same privileges which King James had conceded to him in Newfoundland.

Despatching this petition to Charles I., he embarked for Virginia, and arrived there in October, the season in which the country on the Chesapeake arrays itself in its most attractive brightness. The governor and council forthwith ordered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered him. It was in vain that he proposed a form which he was willing to subscribe; they insisted upon that which had been chosen by the English statutes, and which was purposely framed in such language as no Catholic could adopt. An explanatory letter was transmitted from the Virginia government to the privy council, with the prayer that no papists might be suffered to settle among them.

Almost at the time when this report was written, the king at Whitehall, weighing that men of Lord Baltimore's condi-

tion and breeding were unfit for the rugged and laborious beginnings of new plantations, advised him to desist from further prosecuting his designs, and to return to his native country. He came back; but it was "to extol Virginia to the skies," and to persist in his entreaties. It was represented that on the north of the Potomac there lay a country inhabited only by native tribes. The French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were preparing to occupy it; and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing it by an English settlement. The cancelling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch his prerogative over the soil; and it was not difficult for Calvert —a man of such moderation that all parties were taken with him, sincere in his character, disengaged from all interests, and a favorite with the royal family—to obtain a charter for uncultivated domains in that happy clime. The conditions of the grant conformed to the wishes, it may be to the suggestions, of the first Lord Baltimore himself, although it was finally issued for the benefit of his son.

The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic—these were the limits of the province, which, by the king's command, took the name of Maryland, from the queen, Henrietta Maria. The country thus described was given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as to its absolute lord and proprietary, to be holden by the tenure of fealty only, paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be found. Yet authority was conceded to him rather with reference to the crown than the colonists. The charter, like the constitution of Virginia of July, 1621, provided for a resident council of state; and, like his patent, which, in April, 1623, had passed the great seal for Avalon, required for acts of legislation the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. Authority was intrusted to the proprietary from time to time to constitute fit and wholesome ordinances, provided they were consonant to reason and the laws of England, and did not extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. For the benefit of the colony, the English

statutes restraining emigration were dispensed with; and all present and future liege people of the English king, except such as should be expressly forbidden, might transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity, as professed by the church of England, was established; but the patronage and advowsons of churches were vested in the proprietary; and, as there was not an English statute on religion in which America was specially named, silence left room for the settlement of religious affairs by the colony. Nor was Baltimore obliged to obtain the royal assent to his appointments of officers, nor to the legislation of his province, nor even to make a communication of the one or the other. Moreover, the English monarch, by an express stipulation, covenanted that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever, at any time thereafter, set any imposition, custom, or tax whatsoever, upon the inhabitants of the province. To the proprietary was given the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation. But feudal institutions could not be perpetuated in the lands of their origin, far less renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor forest be transplanted across the Atlantic than antiquated social forms. The seeds of popular liberty, contained in the charter, would find in the New World the soil best suited to quicken them.

Sir George Calvert deserves to be ranked among the wisest and most benevolent law-givers, for he connected his hopes of the aggrandizement of his family with the establishment of popular institutions; and, being a "papist, wanted not charity toward Protestants."

On the fifteenth of April, 1632, before the patent could pass the great seal, he died, leaving a name in private life free from reproach. As a statesman, he was taunted with being "an Hispaniolized papist;" and the justice of history must avow that he misconceived the interests of his country and of his king, and took part in exposing to danger civil liberty and the rights of the parliament of England. For his son, Cecil Calvert, the heir of his father's intentions not less than of his father's fortunes, the charter of Maryland was, on the twentieth

of the following June, published and confirmed; and he obtained the high distinction of successfully performing what colonial companies resident in England had hardly been able to achieve. He planted a colony, which for several generations descended as a lucrative patrimony to his heirs.

Virginia regarded the severing of her territory with apprehension; and, in 1633, before any colonists had embarked under the charter for Maryland, her commissioners in England remonstrated against the grant, as an invasion of her commercial rights, an infringement on her domains, and a discouragement to her planters. In all the business, Strafford, the friend of the father, "took upon himself a noble patronage of" Lord Baltimore; and the remonstrance was in vain. The privy council sustained the proprietary charter; they left the claimants of the isle of Kent to the course of law; at the same time they advised the parties to an amicable adjustment of all disputes, and commanded a free commerce and a good correspondence between the respective colonies.

Lord Baltimore was unwilling to take upon himself the sole risk of colonizing his province; others joined with him in the adventure; and, all difficulties being overcome, his two brothers, of whom Leonard Calvert was appointed his lieutenant, "with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, two or three hundred laboring men well provided in all things," and Father White with one or two more Jesuit missionaries, embarked themselves for the voyage in the good ship Ark, of three hundred tons and upward, and a pinnace called the Dove, of about fifty tons. On the twenty-second of November, 1633, the ships, having been placed by the priests under the protection of God, the Virgin Mary, St. Ignatius, and all the other guardian angels of Maryland, weighed anchor from the isle of Wight. As they sailed by way of the Fortunate islands, Barbadoes, and St. Christopher's, it was not until the last week in February of the following year that they arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia, where, in obedience to the express letters of King Charles, they were welcomed with courtesy and humanity by Harvey. The governor offered them what Virginia had obtained so slowly, and at so much cost, from England: cattle and hogs and poultry; two

or three hundred stocks already grafted with apples and pears, peaches and cherries; and promised that the new plantations should not want the open way to furnish themselves from the old. Clayborne, who had explored the Chesapeake bay, and had established a lucrative trade in furs from Kent and Palmer's isles, predicted the hostility of the natives; and was told that he was now a member of Maryland, and must relinquish all other dependence.

After a week's kind entertainment, the adventurers bent their course to the north and entered the Potomac. "A larger or more beautiful river," writes Father White, "I have never seen; the Thames, compared with it, can scarce be considered a rivulet; no undergrowth chokes the beautiful groves on each of its solid banks, so that you might drive a four-horse chariot among the trees." Sheltered by a small island, which can now hardly be identified, the Ark cast anchor, while Calvert, with the Dove and another pinnace, ascended the stream. At about forty-seven leagues above the mouth of the river, he came upon the village of Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite Mount Vernon, where he found an Englishman who had lived many years among the Indians as a trader, and spoke their language well. With him for an interpreter, a parley was held. To the request for leave for the newcomers to sit down in his country, the chieftain of the tribe answered: "they might use their own discretion." It did not seem safe to plant so far in the interior. Taking with him the trader, Calvert went down the river, examining the creeks and estuaries nearer the Chesapeake; he entered the branch which is now called St. Mary's; and, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, he anchored at the Indian town of Yoacomoco. The native inhabitants, having suffered from the superior power of the Susquehannahs, who occupied the district between that river and the Delaware bay, had already resolved to remove into places of more security; and many of them had begun to migrate. It was easy, by presents of cloth and axes, of hoes and knives, to gain their good-will, and to purchase their rights to the soil which they were preparing to abandon. With mutual promises of friendship and peace, they readily gave consent that

the English should immediately occupy one half of their town; and, after the harvest, the other.

On the twenty-fifth of March, the day of the Annunciation, in the island under which the Ark lay moored, a Jesuit priest of the party offered the sacrifice of the mass, which in that region of the world had never been celebrated before. This being ended, he and his assistants took upon their shoulders the great cross which they had hewn from a tree; and, going in procession to the place that had been designated for it, the governor and other Catholics, Protestants as well participating in the ceremony, erected it as a trophy to Christ the Saviour, while the litany of the holy cross was chanted humbly on their bended knees.

Upon the twenty-seventh, the emigrants, of whom at least three parts of four were Protestants, took quiet possession of the land which the governor had bought. Before many days, Sir John Harvey arrived on a visit; the red chiefs came to welcome or to watch the emigrants, and were so well received that they resolved on mutual amity. The Indian women taught the wives of the new-comers to make bread of maize; the warriors of the tribe joined the huntsmen in the chase. The planters removed all jealousy out of the minds of the natives, and settled with them a very firm league of peace and friendship.

As they had come into possession of ground already subdued, they at once planted cornfields and gardens. No sufferings were endured; no fears of want arose; the foundation of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid; and in six months it advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary continued with great liberality to provide everything needed for its comfort and protection, expending twenty thousand pounds sterling, and his associates as many more. But far more memorable was the character of its institutions. One of the largest wigwams was consecrated for religious service by the Jesuits, who could therefore say that the first chapel in Maryland was built by the red men. Of the Dissenters, though they seem as yet to have been without a minister, the rights were not abridged. This enjoyment of liberty of conscience did not spring from any act of colonial

legislation, nor from any formal and general edict of the governor, nor from any oath as yet imposed by instructions of the proprietary. English statutes were not held to bind the colonies, unless they especially named them; the clause which, in the charter for Virginia, excluded from that colony "all persons suspected to affect the superstitions of the church of Rome," found no place in the charter for Maryland; and, while allegiance was held to be due, there was no requirement of the oath of supremacy. Toleration grew up in the province silently, as a custom of the land. Through the benignity of the administration, no person professing to believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ was permitted to be molested on account of religion. Roman Catholics, who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find an asylum on the north bank of the Potomac; and there, too, Dissenters were sheltered against Protestant intolerance. From the first, men of foreign birth enjoyed equal advantages with those of the English and Irish nations.

The prosperity and peace of Maryland seemed assured. But no sooner had the allegiance of Clayborne's settlement been claimed than he inquired of the governor and council of Virginia how he should demean himself; and was answered that, as the question was undetermined in England, they knew no reason why they should render up the rights of the isle of Kent, which they were bound in duty to maintain. Fortified by this decision and by the tenor of letters from the king, he continued his traffic as before. On the other hand, Lord Baltimore, in September, gave orders to seize him, if he did not submit to his government; and the secretary of state "directed Sir John Harvey to continue his assistance against Clayborne's malicious practices."

In February, 1635, the colony was convened for legislation. Probably all the freemen were present, in a strictly popular assembly. The laws of this first legislative body of Maryland are no longer extant, nor do we know what part it took in vindicating the jurisdiction of the province. But in April of that year the pinnace, in which men employed by Clayborne had been trafficking, was seized by a party from St. Mary's. Resenting the act, he sent a vessel into the Chesa-

peake to demand the restoration of his captured property. On the tenth of May, a skirmish took place on one of the rivers of the eastern shore, south of Kent island. The Marylanders, with the loss of but one man, slew the commander and two others of the Virginians, and took the rest prisoners.

Unable to continue the contest by force, Clayborne repaired to England to lay his case before the king. During his absence, and just before the end of 1637, the government of Maryland established itself on the isle of Kent. In the following January, an assembly, in which Kent island was represented, was convened; and an act of attainder was carried against Clayborne, as one who had been indicted for piracy and murder and had fled from justice. Thomas Smith, who had served as his officer, could not be tried by a jury, for there was no law that reached his case; he was therefore called to the bar of the house, arraigned upon an indictment for piracy, and, after his plea had been heard, was found guilty by all the members except one. Sentence was pronounced on him by the president, in the name of the freemen; all his property except the dower of his wife was forfeited, and he was condemned to be hanged. Then did the prisoner demand his clergy; but it was denied by the president, both for the nature "of his crime and that it was demanded after judgment."

In England, Clayborne attempted to gain a hearing; and, partly by strong representations, still more by the influence of Sir William Alexander, succeeded, for a season, in winning the favorable disposition of Charles. But, when the whole affair came to be finally referred to the commissioners for the plantations, it was found that the right of the king to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland could not be controverted; that the earlier license to traffic did not vest in Clayborne any rights which were valid against the charter; and, therefore, that the isle of Kent belonged to Lord Baltimore, who alone could permit plantations to be established, or commerce with the Indians to be conducted, within his territory.

The people of Maryland were not content with vindicating the limits of their province; they were jealous of their liberties. Their legislature rejected the code which the pro-

prietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, in their turn, enacted a body of laws, which they proposed for the assent of the proprietary. How discreetly they proceeded cannot now be known, for the laws which were then enacted were never ratified, and are not to be found in the provincial records.

In the early history of the United States, popular assemblies burst everywhere into life, with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate efficiency. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; in 1639, the third examined its obligations, and, though its acts were not carried through the forms essential to their validity, it showed the spirit of the people and the times by framing a declaration of rights. Acknowledging allegiance to the English monarch and the prerogatives of Lord Baltimore, it confirmed to all Christian inhabitants of Maryland, slaves excepted, all the liberties which an Englishman enjoyed at home by virtue of the common or statute law, established a system of representative government, and asserted for their general assemblies all such powers as were exercised by the commons of England. The exception of slaves implies that negro slavery had already intruded itself into the province. At this session, any freeman, who had not taken part in the election, might attend in person; thenceforward the governor might summon his friends by special writ, while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness of the state, where the whole people contributed to "the setting up of a water-mill."

In October, 1640, the legislative assembly of Maryland, in the grateful enjoyment of happiness, seasonably guarded the tranquillity of the province against the perplexities of an "interim" by providing for the security of the government in case of the death of the deputy governor. Commerce was fostered, and tobacco, the staple of the colony, subjected to in-

spection. The act which established church liberties declares that "holy church, within this province, shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish." This revival of a clause in Magna Charta, cited in the preceding century by some of the separatists as a guarantee of their religious liberty, was practically interpreted as in harmony with that toleration of all believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ, which was the recognised usage of the land.

Nor was it long before the inhabitants acknowledged Lord Baltimore's great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, and protecting them in their persons, rights, and liberties; and, therefore, so runs the statute of March, 1642, "out of desire to return some testimony of gratitude," they granted "such a subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear." Ever intent on advancing the interests of his colony, the proprietary invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to Maryland, offering them lands and privileges, and "free liberty of religion;" but Gibbons, to whom he had forwarded a commission, was "so wholly tutored in the New England discipline" that he would not advance the wishes of the Irish peer, and the people were not tempted to desert the bay of Massachusetts for the Chesapeake.

The aborigines, alarmed at the rapid increase of the Europeans, and vexed at being frequently overreached by their cupidity, began hostilities; for the Indians, ignorant of the remedy of redress, always planned retaliation. After a war of frontier aggressions, extending from 1642 to 1644, but marked by no decisive events, peace was re-established with them on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly and the humanity of the government. Kidnapping them was made a capital offence, the sale of arms to them prohibited as a felony, and the pre-emption of the soil reserved to the proprietary.

To this right of pre-emption Lord Baltimore would suffer no exception. The Jesuits had obtained a grant of land from an Indian chief; the proprietary, "intent upon his own affairs, and not fearing to violate the immunities of the church," would not allow that it was valid, and persisted in enforcing against

Catholic priests the necessity of obtaining his consent before they could acquire real estate in his province in any wise, even by gift.

In the mixed population of Maryland, where the administration was in the hands of Catholics, and the very great majority of the people were Protestants, there was no unity of sentiment out of which a domestic constitution could have harmoniously risen. At a time when the commotions in England left every colony in America almost unheeded, and Virginia and New England were pursuing a course of nearly independent legislation, the power of the proprietary was almost as feeble as that of the king. The other colonies took advantage of the period to secure and advance their liberties; in Maryland the effect was rather to encourage insubordination; the government vibrated with every change in the political condition of England.

In this state of uncertainty, Leonard Calvert, the proprietary's deputy, repaired to England to take counsel with his brother. During his absence, and toward the end of the year 1643, a London ship, commissioned by parliament, anchored in the harbor of St. Mary's; and Brent, the acting governor, under a general authority from the king at Oxford, but with an indiscretion which was in contrast with the caution of the proprietary, seized the ship, and tendered to its crew an oath against the parliament. Richard Ingle, the commander, having escaped, in January, 1644, was summoned by proclamation to yield himself up, while witnesses were sought after to convict him of treason. The new commission to Governor Calvert plainly conceded to the representatives of the province the right of originating laws. It no longer required an oath of allegiance to the king, but it exacted from every grantee of land an oath of fidelity to the proprietary. This last measure proved a new entanglement.

In September, Calvert returned to St. Mary's to find the colony rent by factions, and Clayborne still restless in asserting his claim to Kent island. Escaping by way of Jamestown to London, Ingle had obtained there a letter of marque, and, without any other authority, reappearing in Maryland, he raised the standard of parliament against the established au-

thorities, made away with the records and the great seal, and, by the aid of Protestants, compelled the governor and secretary, with a few of their devoted friends, to fly to Virginia. Father White and the other Jesuit missionaries were seized and shipped to England; an oath of submission was tendered to the inhabitants, but it was not subscribed by even one Catholic. After his lawless proceedings, which wrought for the colony nothing but confusion and waste of property and insurrectionary misrule, Ingle returned to England.

A fugitive in Virginia, Calvert, in 1645, asked aid of that province. Its governor and council "could send him no help," but they invited Clayborne "to surcease for the present all intermeddling with the government of the isle of Kent." Their offer to act as umpires was not accepted. Before the close of the year 1646, Calvert organized a force strong enough to make a descent upon St. Mary's, and recover the province. In April, 1647, he, in person, reduced Kent island, and established Robert Vaughan, a Protestant, as its commander. Tranquillity returned with his resumption of power, and was confirmed by his wise clemency. On the ninth of the following June he died, and his death foreboded for the colony new disasters, for, during the troublous times which followed, no one of his successors had his prudence or his ability. His immediate successor was Thomas Greene, a Roman Catholic.

Meantime, the committee of plantations at London, acting on a petition, which stated truly that the government of Maryland, since the first settlement of that province, had been in the hands of recusants, and that under a commission from Oxford it had seized upon a ship which derived its commission from parliament, reported both Lord Baltimore and his deputy unfit to be continued in their charges, and recommended that parliament should settle the government of the plantation in the hands of Protestants.

This petition was read in the house of lords in the last week of the year 1645; but neither then nor in the two following years were definite measures adopted by parliament, and the politic Lord Baltimore had ample time to prepare his own remedies. To appease the parliament, he removed Greene, and in August, 1648, appointed in his place William

Stone, a Protestant, of the church of England, formerly a sheriff in Virginia, who had promised to lead a large number of emigrants into Maryland. For his own security, he bound his Protestant lieutenant, or chief governor, by the most stringent oath to maintain his rights and dominion as absolute lord and proprietary of the province of Maryland; and the oath, which was devised in 1648, and not before, and is preserved in the archives of Maryland, went on in these words: "I do further swear I will not by myself, nor any other person, directly trouble, molest, or discountenance any person whatsoever in the said province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ; and, in particular, no Roman Catholic, for or in respect of his or her religion, nor his or her free exercise thereof within the said province, so as they be not unfaithful to his said lordship, or molest or conspire against the civil government established under him." To quiet and unite the colony, all offences of the late rebellion were effaced by a general amnesty; and, at the instance of the Catholic proprietary, the Protestant governor, Stone, and his council of six, composed equally of Catholics and Protestants, and the representatives of the people of Maryland, of whom five were Catholics, at a general session of the assembly, held in April, 1649, placed upon their statute-book an act for the religious freedom which, by the unbroken usage of fifteen years, had become sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion," such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute, "hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Thus did the star of religious freedom harbinger the day; though, as it first gleamed above the horizon, its light was colored and obscured by the mists and exhalations of morning. The Independents of England, in a paper which they called "the agreement of the people," expressed their desire to grant to all believers in Jesus Christ the free exercise of their religion;

but the Long Parliament rejected their prayer, and in May, 1648, passed an ordinance, not to be paralleled among Protestants for its atrocity, imposing death as the penalty for holding any one of eight enumerated heresies. Not conforming wholly to the precedent, the clause for liberty in Maryland, which extended only to Christians, was introduced by the proviso that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death."

The design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the exiled Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights by the Roman Catholic proprietary of Maryland; and the usage of the province from its foundation was confirmed by its statutes. The attractive influence of this liberality for the province appeared immediately: a body of Puritans or Independents in Virginia, whom Sir William Berkeley had ordered to leave that province for their nonconformity, negotiated successfully with the proprietary for lands in Maryland; and, before the end of the year 1649, the greater part of the congregation planted themselves on the banks of the Severn. To their place of refuge, now known as Annapolis, they gave the name of Providence; there "they sat down joyfully, and cheerfully followed their vocations."

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649, this change had taken place; and, in 1650, it was established by an enactment constituting a legislature in two branches. The dangerous prerogative of employing martial law

was limited to the precincts of the camp and the garrison; and a perpetual act declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records an acknowledgment of gratitude to their proprietary, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" his care and industry in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."

The revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies; and, while New England and Virginia vigorously advanced their liberties under a salutary neglect, Maryland was involved in the miseries of a disputed administration. Doubts were raised as to the authority to which obedience was due; and the government of benevolence, good order, and toleration, was, by the force of circumstances, abandoned for the misrule of bigotry and the anarchy of a disputed sovereignty. When the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, it might be questioned whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore should be permitted to continue; and scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty. Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but for Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed, could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was the sovereign of Maryland? "Beauty and extraordinary goodness" were her dowry; and she was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia, pushed on by Clayborne, was ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac; Charles II., incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission as governor to Sir William Davenant; Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and the Long Parliament prepared to intervene.

In the ordinance of 1650, for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, Maryland was not included. Charles II. had been inconsiderately proclaimed by Greene, while acting as governor during an absence of Stone in Virginia, and assurances had

been given of the fidelity of the proprietary to the commonwealth, but the proclamation was disavowed. Still the popish monarchical Baltimore had wakeful opponents. In the paper instructing the parliamentary commissioners of September, 1651, the name of Maryland twice found a place, and, at the proprietary's representation, was twice struck out; yet, in the last draft of the following March, they were, by some unknown influence, empowered to reduce "all the plantations within the bay of the Chesapeake." Bennett, then governor of Virginia, and Clayborne accordingly entered the province.

In the settlement with Virginia, the commissioners had aimed at reannexing the territory of Maryland; but they dared not of themselves enforce that agreement. The offer was therefore made, that the proprietary's officers should remain in their places, if, without infringing his just rights, they would conform to the laws of the commonwealth of England in point of government; but they refused to issue forth writs in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, saying "they could not do it without breach of their trust and oath." Thereupon Bennett and his associate took possession of the commissions of Stone and his council, declared them to be null and void, and of their own authority appointed an executive council to direct the affairs of Maryland. For the following June an assembly was to be summoned, of which the burgesses were to be chosen only by freemen who had taken the engagement to the commonwealth of England, as established without house of lords or king.

The assembly of Virginia, which met at James City on the last day of April, did not give effect to the article restoring its ancient bounds, but awaited instructions from the parliament of England. After organizing its government, the commissioners, who had attended the session, returned to Maryland; and there, conforming to the manifest desire of the inhabitants, they reinstated Stone as governor, with a council of which three at least were the friends of Lord Baltimore, on no other condition than their acquiescence in what had been done. The government thus instituted "being to the liking of the people," the calling of an assembly was postponed. The restoration of Kent island to Clayborne was aimed at indirectly, by a treaty

with the Susquehannahs, from whom his original title was derived.

In England, Lord Baltimore was roused to the utmost efforts to preserve his province. He gave reasons of state to show the importance of not reuniting it to Virginia to the prejudice of his patent. He even sought to strengthen his case by dwelling on the monarchical tendencies of Virginia, and holding up Maryland and New England as "the only two provinces that did not declare against the parliament." His argument was supported by a petition from himself and his associate adventurers, and from traders and planters in Maryland. The Long Parliament referred the question of bounds to their committee of the navy, who had power to send for persons and papers. On the last day of the year that committee made an elaborate and impartial report; but, before the controversy could be decided, the Long Parliament was turned out of doors.

The dissolution of the Long Parliament threatened a change in the political condition of Maryland. It was argued that the only authority under which Bennett and Clayborne had acted had expired with the body from which it was derived. In February, 1654, Stone required by proclamation an oath of fidelity to the proprietary, as the condition of grants of lands. The housekeepers of Anne Arundel county promptly objected to the oath; so did Francis Preston and sixty others, and they protested against the restoration of the old form of government. Bennett and Clayborne bade them stand fast by the form which the commissioners had established. About the middle of July—though Stone had in May proclaimed Cromwell as lord protector, fired salutes in his honor, and commemorated the solemnity by grants of pardon—Bennett and Clayborne, then governor and secretary of Virginia, came to Maryland, and raised as soldiers the inhabitants on the Patuxent river, with those of Anne Arundel and of the isle of Kent, to take the government out of his hands. The party which supported him, and which consisted in part of Protestants, prepared for defence. "But those few papists that were in Maryland, for indeed they were but few," so writes one of their friends, "importunately persuaded Governor

Stone not to fight, lest the cry against the papists, if any hurt were done, would be so great that many mischiefs would ensue, wholly referring themselves to the will of God and the lord protector's determination." Yielding to their advice against that of his Protestant friends, Stone surrendered his commission into their hands, and, under compulsion, pledged himself in writing to submit to such government as should be set over the province by the commissioners in the name of the lord protector. Two days after his resignation, Bennett and Clayborne appointed Captain William Fuller and nine others commissioners for governing Maryland. They were enjoined to summon an assembly for which all who had borne arms against the parliament or professed the Roman Catholic religion were disabled to vote or to be elected.

Parties became identified with religious sects, and Maryland itself was the prize for which they contended. The new assembly, representing a faction, not the whole people, coming together at Patuxent in October, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, but it disfranchised the whole Romish party. Following the precedent established by an ordinance of the Long Parliament, it confirmed the liberty of religion, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness" of opinion. The cedar and the myrtle and the oil-tree might no longer be planted in the wilderness together.

When the proprietary heard of these proceedings, he reproved his lieutenant for want of firmness. The pretended assembly was esteemed "illegal, mutinous, and usurped," and his officers, under the powers which the charter conferred, prepared to vindicate his supremacy. Toward the end of January, 1655, on the receipt of news from London, it was noised abroad that his patent was upheld by the protector, and Stone, pleading that his written resignation to the ten commissioners was invalid, because extorted from him by force, began to issue orders for the restoration of his authority. Papists and friendly Protestants received authority to levy men, and the leaders of this new appeal to arms were able to surprise and get possession of the provincial records. In the last week in March, they moved from Patuxent toward Anne Arundel, the chief seat of the republicans. The inhabitants of Providence and

their partisans gathered together with superior zeal and courage. Aided by the Golden Lyon, an English ship which happened then to be in the waters of the Severn, they attacked and discomfited the party of Stone. After the skirmish, the governor, upon quarter given him, yielded himself and his company as prisoners; but, two or three days after, the victors, by a council of war, condemned him, his councillors, and some others—in all, ten in number—to be shot. Eltonhead, one of the condemned, appealed to Cromwell, but in vain, and sentence was presently executed upon him and three others. Of the four, three were Roman Catholics. The remaining six, some on the way to execution, were saved "by the begging of good women and friends" who chanced to be there, or by the soldiers; it was to the intercession of the latter that Governor Stone owed his life. Rushing into the houses of the Jesuits, men demanded "the impostors," as they called them, but the fathers escaped to hiding-places in Virginia.

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will;" and yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he "would not have a stop put to the proceedings of the commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government." The right to the jurisdiction of Maryland remained, therefore, a disputed question.

In July, 1656, Lord Baltimore commissioned Josiah Fendall as his lieutenant, and, before the end of the year, sent over his brother Philip as councillor and principal secretary of the province. The ten men none the less continued to exercise authority, and, "for his dangerousness," they held Fendall under arrest, until, in the face of the whole court, he took an oath not to disturb their government, but to await a final decision from England. To England, therefore, he sailed the next year, that he might consult with Baltimore, leaving Barber, a former member of Cromwell's household, as his deputy. Still the protector, by reason "of his great affairs," had not leisure to

consider the report of the commissioners for trade on the affairs of Maryland. At last, in November, 1657, Lord Baltimore, by "the friendly endeavors of Edward Digges," negotiated with Bennett and Matthews, all being then in England, an agreement for the recovery of his province. The proprietary covenanted so far to waive his right of jurisdiction as to leave the settlement of past offences and differences to the disposal of the protector and his council; to grant the land claims of "the people in opposition," without requiring of them an oath of fidelity, but only some engagement for his support; and, lastly, he promised for himself never to consent to a repeal "of the law whereby all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of conscience there."

Returning to his government with instructions, Fendall, in the following March, held an interview with Fuller, Preston, and the other commissioners, at St. Leonards, when the agreement was carried into effect. The Puritans were further permitted to retain their arms, and were assured of indemnity. The proceedings of the assemblies and the courts of justice since the year 1652, in so far as they related to questions of property, were confirmed.

Wearied with the convulsions of ten years, a general assembly, on the death of Cromwell, saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, on the twelfth of March, 1660, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, meeting in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the popular will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland having settled the government, independent of their proprietary and of his governor and council, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act

making it felony to disturb the order which they had established.

Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, was in full possession of liberty, by the practical exercise of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances toward freedom and independence.

Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent, and the colony had increased, and flourished, and grown rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated at twelve thousand and at eight thousand; the latter number is probably nearer the truth. The country was dear to its inhabitants. There they desired to spend the remnant of their lives—there to make their graves.

CHAPTER XI.

PRELATES AND PURITANS.

The settlement of New England was a result of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters in England and the established Anglican church.

Who will venture to measure the consequences of actions by the humility or the remoteness of their origin? The Power which enchains the destinies of states, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least considered causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of ever-increasing intelligence; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion which changed the foundations of European politics; a young French refugee, skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of religious controversy, entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party of which Englishmen became members, and New England the asylum.

In Germany, the reformation, which aimed at the regeneration of the world in doctrine and in morals, sprung from the son of a miner of the peasant class—from Martin Luther—of whom Leibnitz says: "This is he who, in later times, taught the human race hope and free thought." Trained in the school of Paul of Tarsus through the African Augustine, Luther insisted that no man can impersonate or transmit the authority of God; that power over souls belongs to no order;

that clergy and laity are of one condition; that "any Christian can remit sins just as well as a priest;" that "ordination by a bishop is no better than an election;" that "the priest is but the holder of an office," "the pope but our school-fellow;" and, collecting all in one great formulary, he declared: "Justification is by faith, by faith alone." Every man must work out his own salvation; no other, "not priest, nor bishop, nor pope —no, nor all the prophets"—can serve for the direct connection of the reason of the individual with the infinite and eternal intelligence.

The principle of justification by faith alone brought with it the freedom of individual thought and conscience against authority. "If fire," said Luther, "is the right cure for heresy, then the fagot-burners are the most learned doctors on earth; nor need we study any more; he that has brute force on his side may burn his adversary at the stake." "I will preach, speak, write the truth, but will force it on no one, for faith must be accepted willingly, and without compulsion."

To the question whether the people may judge for themselves what to believe, Luther answers: "All bishops that take the right of judgment of doctrine from the sheep are certainly to be held as wolves; Christ gives the right of judgment to the scholars and to the sheep; St. Paul will have no proposition accepted till it has been proved and recognised as good by the congregation that hears it."

And should "the pastor," "the minister of the word," be called, inducted, and deposed by the congregation? "Princes and lords," said Luther, "cannot with any color refuse them the right." This he enforced on "the emperor and Christian nobles of the German nation." This he upheld when it was put forward by the peasants of Suabia.

The reformation in England—an event which had been long and gradually prepared among its people by the widely accepted teachings of Wycliffe; among its scholars by the revival of letters, the presence, the personal influence, and the writings of Erasmus, and the liberal discourses of preachers trained in the new learning; among the courtiers by the frequent resistance of English kings to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—was abruptly introduced by a passionate

and overbearing monarch, acting in conjunction with his parliament to emancipate the crown of England from all subjection to an alien pontiff.

In the history of the English constitution, this measure of definitive resistance to the pope was memorable as the beginning of the real greatness of the house of commons; and when Clement VII. excommunicated the king, and Paul III. invited Catholic Europe to reduce all his subjects who supported him to poverty and bondage, it was in the commons that the crown found countervailing support. But there was no thought of a radical reform in morals; nor did any one mighty creative mind, like that of Luther or Calvin, infuse into the people a new spiritual life. So far was the freedom of private inquiry from being recognised as a right, that even the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. The act of supremacy, which, on the fourth of November, 1534, severed the English nation from the Roman see, was but "the manumitting and enfranchising of the regal dignity from the recognition of a foreign superior." It did not aim at enfranchising the English church, far less the English people or the English mind. The king of England became the pope in his own dominions; and heresy was still accounted the foulest of crimes. The right of correcting errors of religious faith became, by the suffrage of parliament, a branch of the royal prerogative; and, in 1539, as active minds among the people were continually proposing new schemes of doctrine, a statute was, after great opposition in parliament, enacted "for abolishing diversity of opinions." Almost all the Roman Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. The pope could praise Henry VIII. for orthodoxy, while he excommunicated him for disobedience. He commended to the wavering emperor the English sovereign as a model for soundness of belief, and anathematized him only for contumacy. It was Henry's pride to defy the authority of the Roman bishop, and yet to enforce the doctrines of the Roman church. He was as tenacious of his reputation for Catholic orthodoxy as of his claim to spiritual dominion. He disdained submission, and he detested heresy.

Nor was Henry VIII. slow to sustain his new prerogatives.

According to ancient usage, no sentence of death, awarded by the ecclesiastical courts, could be carried into effect until a writ had been obtained from the king. The regulation had been adopted in a spirit of mercy, securing to the temporal authorities the power of restraining persecution. The heretic might appeal from the atrocity of the priest to the mercy of the prince. But what hope remained when the two authorities were united, and the law, which had been enacted as a protection of the subject, became the instrument of tyranny! No virtue, no eminence, conferred security. Not the forms of worship merely, but the minds of men, were declared subordinate to the government; faith, not less than ceremony, was to vary with the acts of parliament. Death was denounced against the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who doubted his creed. Had Luther been an Englishman, he might have perished by fire. In the latter part of his life, Henry revoked the general permission of reading the scriptures, and limited the privilege to merchants and nobles. He always adhered to his old religion, and died in the Roman rather than in the Protestant faith. The environs of the court displayed no resistance to the capricious monarch; parliament yielded him absolute authority in religion; but the awakened intelligence of a great nation could not be terrified into a passive lethargy; and, even though it sometimes faltered in its progress, steadily demanded the emancipation of the public mind.

The people were still accustomed to the Catholic forms of worship and of belief, when, in January, 1547, the accession of the boy Edward VI., England's only Puritan king, opened the way to changes within its church. The reform had made great advances among the French and among the Swiss. Both Luther and Calvin brought the individual into immediate relation with God; but Calvin, under a militant form of doctrine, lifted the individual above pope and prelate, and priest and presbyter, above Catholic church and national church and general synod, above indulgences, remissions, and absolutions from fellow-mortals, and brought him into the immediate dependence on God, whose eternal, irreversible decree is made by himself alone, not arbitrarily, but according to his own

highest wisdom and justice. Luther spared the altar, and hesitated to deny totally the real presence; Calvin, with superior dialectics, accepted as a commemoration and a seal the rites which the Catholics revered as a sacrifice. Luther favored magnificence in public worship, as an aid to devotion; Calvin, the guide of republics, avoided in their churches all appeals to the senses, as a peril to pure religion. Luther condemned the Roman church for its immorality; Calvin, for its idolatry. Luther exposed the folly of superstition, ridiculed the hair shirt and the scourge, the purchased indulgence, and dearly bought, worthless masses for the dead; Calvin shrunk from their criminality with impatient horror. Luther permitted the cross and the taper, pictures and images, as things of indifference; Calvin demanded a spiritual worship in its utmost purity. Luther, not from his own choice but from the overruling necessities of his position, left the organization of the church to princes and governments; Calvin reformed doctrine, ritual, and practice; and, by establishing ruling elders in each church and an elective synod, he secured to his polity a representative character, which combined authority with popular rights. Both Luther and Calvin insisted that, for each one, there is and can be no other priest than himself; and, as a consequence, both agreed in the parity of the clergy. Both were of one mind that, should pious laymen choose one of their number to be their minister, "the man so chosen would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops in the world had consecrated him."

In the regency which was established in 1547, during the minority of Edward, the reforming party had the majority. Calvin made an appeal to Somerset, the protector; and, burning with zeal to include the whole people of England in a perfect unity with the reformers of the continent, he urged Cranmer to call together pious and rational men, educated in the school of God, to meet and agree upon one uniform confession of Christian doctrine, according to the rule of scripture. "As for me," he said, "if I can be made use of, I will sail through ten seas to bring this about."

In the first year of the new reign, Peter Martyr and another from the continent were summoned to Oxford. The Book of

Homilies, which held forth the doctrine of justification by faith, prepared by Cranmer in the year 1547, laid the foundation for further reform; and in the next appeared Cranmer's first Book of the Common Prayer, in which, however, there lurked many superstitions. Bucer, who, in 1549, was called to Cambridge, complained of the backwardness of "the reformation." "Do not abate your speed, because you approach the goal," wrote Calvin to Cranmer. "By too much delay the harvest-time will pass by, and the cold of a perpetual winter set in. The more age weighs on you, the more swiftly ought you to press on, lest your conscience reproach you for your tardiness, should you go from the world while things still lie in confusion." The tendency of the governing mind appeared from the appointment, in 1551, of John Knox, as a royal chaplain. Cranmer especially desired to come to an agreement with the reformed church on the eucharist; and, on that subject, his liturgy of 1552 adopted the teaching of Calvin; the priest became a minister, the altar a table, the bread and wine a commemoration. Exorcism in the rite of baptism, auricular confession, the use of consecrated oil, prayers for the dead, were abolished. "The Anglican liturgy," wrote Calvin of this revised Book of Common Prayer, "wants the purity which was to have been wished for, yet its fooleries can be borne with."

The forty-two articles of religion digested by Cranmer, and, in 1553, promulgated by royal authority, set forth the creed of the evangelical church as that of all England. In the growing abhorrence of superstition, the inquisitive mind, especially in the cities, asked for greater simplicity in the vestments of ministers and in the forms of devotion. Not a rite remained of which the fitness was not questioned. The authority of all traditions, of papal bulls and briefs, encyclicals and epistles, and of decrees of councils, was done away with; and the austere principle announced that neither symbol, nor vestment, nor ceremony, nor bowing at a name, nor kneeling at an emblem, should be endured, unless it was set forth in the word of God. The churchmen desired to differ from the ancient forms as little as possible, and readily adopted the use of things indifferent; the Puritans could not sever themselves

too widely from the Roman usages. A more complete reform was demanded; and the friends of the established liturgy expressed in the prayer-book itself a wish for its furtherance.

Of the insurrections in the reign of Edward, all but one sprung from the oppression of the landlords. England accepted the reformation, though the want of good preachers impeded the training of the people in its principles. There was no agreement among the bishops on doctrine or discipline. Many parishes were the property of the nobles; many ecclesiastics, some even of those who affected to be evangelical, were pluralists, and left their parochial duties to those who would serve at the lowest price, even though sometimes they could not read English. Lay proprietors, who had taken the lands of the monasteries, saved themselves from paying pensions to dispossessed monks by setting them, however ignorant or unfit, over parishes. In some a sermon had not been preached for years.

In this state of public worship throughout the land, Mary, in July, ascended the throne, and, by her zeal to restore the old religion, became the chief instrument in establishing the new. The people are swayed more by their emotions than by dialectics; and, where two parties appear before them, the majority is most readily roused for that one which appeals to the heart. Mary offended English nationality by taking the king of Spain for her husband; and, while the statesmen of Edward's time had not been able to reach the country by preachers, she startled the dwellers in every parish in England by the fires which she lighted at Gloucester and Oxford and Smithfield, where prelates and ministers, and men and women of the most exemplary lives, bore witness among blazing fagots to the truth of the reformed religion by displaying the highest qualities that give dignity to human nature. Rogers and Hooper, the first martyrs of Protestant England, were Puritans. And it was observed that Puritans never sought by concessions to escape the flames. For them, compromise was itself apostasy. The offer of pardon could not induce Hooper to waver, nor the pains of a lingering death impair his fortitude. He suffered by a very slow fire, and died as quietly as a child in his bed.

A large part of the English clergy went back to their submission to the see of Rome, while others adhered to the reformation from conviction, many of whom had, in their wives and children, given hostages for fidelity. Among the multitudes who hurried into foreign lands, one party aimed at renewing abroad the forms of discipline which had been sanctioned in the reign of Edward; the Puritans endeavored to sweeten their exile by completely emancipating themselves from all offensive ceremonies. The sojourning in Frankfort was at first imbittered by angry divisions; but time softened the asperities of controversy, and a reconciliation was prepared by concessions to the stricter sect, of which the abode on the continent was well adapted to strengthen the influence. While the Puritans who fled to Denmark and Northern Germany were rejected with the most bitter intolerance, those of them who repaired to Switzerland received the kindest welcome; their love for the rigorous austerity of a spiritual worship was confirmed; and some of them enjoyed the instructions and the friendship of Calvin. Alike at Frankfort and Geneva, they gave each other pledges to promote further reforms.

On the death of Mary, after a reign of hardly five and a half years, the Puritan exiles returned to England with still stronger antipathies to the forms of worship and the vestures, which had been disused in the churches of Switzerland, and which they now repelled as associated with the cruelties of Roman intolerance at home. But the controversy was modified by the personal character of the English sovereign.

The younger daughter of Henry VIII. had at her father's court, until her fourteenth year, conformed like him to the rites of the Roman church. Less than twelve years had passed since his death. For two or three of those years she had made use of Cranmer's first Book of Common Prayer; but hardly knew the second, which was introduced only a few weeks before her brother's death. No one ever ascribed to her any inward experience of the influences of religion. During the reign of her sister Mary, she had conformed to the Catholic church without a scruple. At the age of twenty-four, restored to freedom by accession to the throne, her first

words were that she would "do as her father did;" and, like her father, she never called herself a Protestant, but a Catholic except in subordination to the pope. She respected the symbols of the "Catholic faith," and loved magnificence in worship. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains, who had asserted the real presence. She vehemently desired to retain in her private chapel images, the crucifix, and tapers; she was inclined to offer prayers to the Virgin; she favored the invocation of saints. She so far required the celibacy of the clergy that, during her reign, their marriages took place only by connivance. Neither the influence of early education nor the love of authority would permit Elizabeth to imitate the reformed churches of the continent, which had risen in defiance of all ordinary powers of the world, and which could justify their existence only by a strong claim to natural liberty.

On this young woman, in November, 1558, devolved the choice of the Book of Common Prayer, as it seemed, for the two or three millions who then formed the people of England; but, in truth, for very many in countries collectively more than twice as large as all Europe. Her choice was for the first service-book of her brother; yielding to the immense weight of a Puritan opposition, which was as yet unbalanced by an episcopal section in the church, she consented to that of 1553; but the prayer against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome was left out, the sign of the cross in baptism was restored, the minister was sometimes denominated the priest, the table was sometimes called the altar, and the rubric, which scouted the belief in the objective real presence of Christ in the eucharist as gross idolatry, was discarded. She long desired to establish the national religion midway between sectarian licentiousness and Roman supremacy; and, after her policy in religion was once declared, the pride of authority would brook no opposition.

When rigorous orders for enforcing conformity were first issued, the Puritans were rather excited to defiance than intimidated. Of the London ministers, about thirty refused subscription, and men began to speak openly of a secession from the church; "not for hatred to the estates of the church of

England, but for love to a better." In 1567, a separate congregation was formed; immediately the government was alarmed, and the leading men of the congregation and several women were sent to Bridewell for a year.

While the personal influence of the queen crushed every movement of the house of commons toward satisfying the scruples of the Puritans by reforms in the service-book, it chanced otherwise with her aversion to the abstract articles of religion. In January, 1563, the convocation of the Anglican clergy, in whom the spirit of the reformation then prevailed, having compressed the forty-two articles of Cranmer and Edward VI. into thirty-eight, adopted and subscribed them; and, except for the opposition of the queen and her council, they would have been confirmed by parliament. When, four years later, a Puritan house of commons voted to impose them on the clergy, Elizabeth, at the instance of the English Catholics, and after a long consultation with the ambassador of Spain, used her influence to suppress a debate on the bill in the house of lords. But, in 1571, the year after there had been nailed to the door of the bishop of London the bull in which the pope, Pius V., denied her right to the English throne and excommunicated every English Catholic who should remain loyal to her, at a time when she was in danger of being put out of the way by assassins, though she still quelled every movement toward changes in the liturgy, she dared not refuse assent to an act which required subscription to the so-called thirty-nine articles, as an indispensable condition for the tenure of a benefice in the church of England. From that time forward, while conformity to the common prayer was alone required of the laity, every clergyman of the church of England wrote himself a believer "that justification is by faith, that holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, and that transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." "By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles," say English Catholics, "the seal was set to the reformation in England; a new church was built on the ruins of the old."

Within the church of England an irreconcilable division

was developed. The power of the bishop, which was for some years looked upon as only administrative, began to be considered as intermediary; and the attempt was made to reconcile the regenerating power of an ordained prelacy to faith in the direct dealing of God with each individual soul. The one party claimed for the bishops an unbroken sacred succession from apostolic times; the other sought a perfect unity with the reformers of the continent. Both parties avoided separation or schism; both strove for mastery in the church of the whole nation; and each of the two, fast anchored within that church, engaged in a contest for the exclusive direction of the public worship.

But, besides these parties contending for lordship over the religion of the whole land, there rose up a class of Independents, who desired liberty to separate from the church of England, and institute social worship according to their own consciences, and employ each individual mind in discovering "truth in the word of God." The reformation had begun in England with the monarch, had extended among the nobility, had been developed under the guidance of a hierarchy, and had but slowly penetrated the masses. The party of the independents was plebeian in its origin, and carried the principle of intellectual enfranchisement from authority into the houses of the common people. Its adherents were "neither gentry nor beggars." They desired freedom to worship God in congregations of their own.

It had long been held perilous for a Christian prince to grant a liberty that one of his subjects should use a religion against the conscience of the prince; and Bacon said: "The permission of the exercise of more religions than one is a dangerous indulgence." It was determined at once to crush this principle of voluntary union by every terror of the law. Among the clergymen who inclined to it were Copping, Thacker, and Robert Browne. By Freke, as bishop of Norwich, the two former were cast into the common jail of Bury St. Edmunds. From the prison of Norwich, Browne was released, through the influence of his kinsman, the lord treasurer, Burleigh. In 1582, he escaped to the Netherlands, gathered a church at Middleburg from among English exiles, and

printed three tracts in exposition of his belief. In substance, his writings contain two seminal ideas: first, if the prince, or magistrate under the prince, do refuse or defer to reform the church, the people may without their consent sever themselves from the national church, and for themselves individually undertake a reformation without tarrying for any; and, secondly, a church may be gathered by a number of believers coming together under a willing covenant made among themselves without civil authority.

Both these propositions Luther had approved, as in themselves thoroughly right; but the English prelacy pursued them with merciless severity. Copping and Thacker, accused of assisting to spread the book of Robert Browne, were transferred to the secular power, and, under the interpretation of the law by the lord chief justice of England, were hanged for the felony of sedition. Browne, by submitting himself to the established order and government in the church, obtained a benefice, which he enjoyed till he became fourscore years of age. The principles, of which the adoption had alone given him distinction, lay deeply rooted in the religious thought of the country, and did not suffer from his apostasy.

From this time there was a division among the Puritans. The very great majority of them continued their connection with the national church, which they hoped one day to model according to their own convictions; the minority, separating from it, looked for the life of religion in the liberty of the conscience of the individual.

The party of the outright separatists having been pursued till they seemed to be wholly rooted out, the queen pressed on to the graver conflict with the Puritan churchmen. "In truth, Elizabeth and James were personally the great support of the high church interest; it had few real friends among her counsellors." In vain did the best statesmen favor moderation: the queen was impatient of nonconformity, as the nursery of disobedience and rebellion. At a time when the readiest mode of reaching the minds of the common people was through the pulpit, and when the preachers would often speak with homely energy on all the events of the day, the claim of the Puritans to the "liberty of prophesying" was

similar to the modern demand of the liberty of the press; and threatened not only to disturb the uniformity of the national worship but to impair the royal authority.

The learned Grindal, who during the reign of Mary lived in exile, and, after her death, hesitated about accepting a mitre from dislike to what he regarded as the mummery of consecration, early in 1576 was advanced to the see of Canterbury. At the head of the English clergy, he gave an example of reluctance to prosecute. But he, whom Bacon calls "one of the greatest and rarest prelates of his time," brought down upon himself the petulance of Elizabeth by his refusal to suppress the liberty of prophesying, was suspended, and, when blind and broken-hearted, was ordered to resign. Nothing but his death, in 1583, saved him from being superseded by Whitgift.

The accession of Whitgift, on the twenty-third of September, 1583, marks the epoch of extreme and consistent rigor in the public councils; for the new archbishop was sincerely attached to the English church, and, from a regard to religion, enforced the conformity which the queen desired as the support of her power. He was a strict disciplinarian, and wished to govern the clergy of the realm as he would rule the members of a college. Subscriptions were required to points which before had been eluded; the kingdom rung with complaints for deprivation; the most learned and diligent of the ministry were driven from their places; and those who were introduced to read the liturgy were so ignorant that few of them could preach. Did men listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses of forests or in tabernacles, the offence, if discovered, was visited by fines and imprisonment.

The first statute of Queen Elizabeth, enacting her supremacy, gave her authority to erect a commission for causes ecclesiastical. On the first of July, 1584, a new form was given to this court. Forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were bishops, had roving powers, as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors, to search after heretical opinions, seditious books, absences from the established divine worship, errors, heresies, and schisms. The primary model of the court was the inquisition itself, its English germ a commission granted

by Mary to certain bishops and others to inquire after all heresies. All suspected persons might be called before them; and men were obliged to answer, on oath, every question proposed, either against others or against themselves. In vain did the sufferers murmur; in vain did parliament disapprove the commission, which was alike illegal and arbitrary: in vain did Burleigh remonstrate against a system so intolerant that "the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to trap their preys." The archbishop would have deemed forbearance a weakness; and the queen was ready to interpret any freedom in religion as the treasonable denial of her supremacy or the felony of sedition.

The institution of this ecclesiastical court stands out in high relief as one of the great crimes against civilization, and admits of no extenuation or apology except by recrimination. It has its like in the bull of Leo X. against Luther; in the advice of Calvin to the English reformers; in the blind zeal of the Puritans of that day, who, like Cartwright, taught that "heretykes oughte to be put to deathe nowe, that uppon repentance ther oughte not to followe any pardon of deathe, that the magistrates which punish murther and are lose in punishing the breaches of the first table, begynne at the wronge end;" and, finally, in the act of the Presbyterian Long Parliament imposing capital punishment upon various religious opinions. Luther alone has the glory of "forbidding to fight for the gospel with violence and death."

The party thus persecuted were the most efficient opponents of popery. "The Puritans," said Burleigh, "are oversqueamish and nice, yet their careful catechising and diligent preaching lessen and diminish the papistical numbers." But for the Puritans, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. If Elizabeth reformed the court, the ministers, whom she persecuted, reformed the commons. In Scotland, where they prevailed, they, by their system of schools, lifted the nation far above any other in Europe, excepting, perhaps, some cantons of Switzerland. That the English people became Protestant is due to the Puritans. How, then, could the party be subdued? The spirit of these brave and conscientious men could not be broken. The

queen gave her orders to the archbishop of Canterbury, "that no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions." The vehemence of persecution, which comprehended one third of all the ecclesiastics of England, roused the sufferers to struggle fiercely for self-protecting and avenging power in the state, and, through the state, in the national church.

Meantime, the party of the Independents, or Brownists as they were scornfully called, shading into that of the Puritans, were pursued into their hiding-places with relentless fury. Yet, in all their sorrows, they manifested the sincerest love for their native country, and their religious zeal made them devoted to the queen, whom Rome and the Spaniards had forced, against her will, to become the leading prince of the Protestant world.

In November, 1592, "this humble petition of her highness's faithful subjects, falsely called Brownists," was addressed to the privy council: "Whereas, we, her majesty's natural-born subjects, true and loyal, now lying, many of us, in other countries, as men exiled her highness's dominions; and the rest, which remain within her grace's land, greatly distressed through imprisonment and other great troubles, sustained only for some matters of conscience, in which our most lamentable estate we cannot in that measure perform the duty of subjects as we desire; and, also, whereas means is now offered for our being in a foreign and far country which lieth to the west from hence, in the province of Canada, where by the providence of the Almighty, and her majesty's most gracious favor, we may not only worship God as we are in conscience persuaded by his word, but also do unto her majesty and our country great good service, and in time also greatly annoy that bloody and persecuting Spaniard about the bay of Mexico—our most humble suit is that it may please your honors to be a means unto her excellent majesty, that with her most gracious favor and protection we may peaceably depart thither, and there remaining to be accounted her majesty's faithful and loving subjects, to whom we owe all duty and obedience in the Lord, promising hereby and taking

God to record, who searcheth the hearts of all people, that, wheresoever we become, we will, by the grace of God, live and die faithful to her highness and this land of our nativity."

The prayer was unheeded. No one at court in that day would suffer Independents to live in peace in England or plant a colony. "As for those which we call Brownists," wrote Bacon, in 1592, "being, when they were at the most, a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed, they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out; so that there is scarce any news of them." Yet, in the next year, it was said by Raleigh, in parliament, that there were in England twenty thousand of those who frequented conventicles. It was proposed to banish them, as the Moors had been banished from Spain. To root out the sect which was become the depository of the principles of reform, an act of parliament of 1593 ordered those who for a month should be absent from the English service to be interrogated as to their belief, and menaced obstinate non-conformists with exile or with death. For the moment, under the ruthless policy of Whitgift and the queen, John Greenwood and Henry Barrow, both educated in the university at Cambridge, the former a regularly ordained minister, the latter for some years a member of Gray's Inn, London, after an imprisonment of about seven years, were selected by Whitgift for execution. Burleigh interposed and "gave the archbishop sound taxing words, and he used some speech with the queen, but was not seconded by any." Under the gallows at Tyburn, with the ropes about their necks, they prayed for England and England's queen; and so, on an April morning, were hanged for dissent.

John Penry, a Welshman, who had taken his first degree at Cambridge, and had become master of arts at Oxford, a man of faultless life, a preacher of the gospel to the Welsh, was convicted at Westminster Hall of the same seditiousness. "In the earnest desire I had to see the gospel in my native country," so he wrote to Lord Burleigh, "I might well, as I confess in my published writings, forget my own danger; but my loyalty to my prince did I never forget. And, being

now to end my days before I am come to the one half of my years in the likely course of nature, I leave unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise after me the accomplishing of that work which, in the calling of my country unto the knowledge of Christ's blessed gospel, I began." His protestation after sentence was referred to the judges, who reported him guilty of separation from the church of England, and of "the justification of Barrow and Greenwood as holy martyrs." Archbishop Whitgift was the first to affix his name to the death warrant; and, on the seventh of June, 1593, just as the sun was going down toward the west, one of the purest men of England, exemplarily faithful to his country and to its prince, suffered martyrdom on the gallows.

"Take my poor desolate widow and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans with you into exile; you shall yet find days of peace and rest, if you continue faithful," was one of the last messages of Penry to a company of believers in London whom banishment, with the loss of goods, was likely to betide. Francis Johnson, being arraigned, pleaded that "the great charter of England granteth that the church of Christ shall be free, and have all her liberties inviolable;" but, after a close imprisonment in jail for more than a year, he was sentenced to abjure the realm. He it was who gathered the exiled Southwark church in Amsterdam, where it continued as an example for a century.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PILGRIMS.

Our narrative leads us to the manor-house of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, where William Brewster, who had been educated at Cambridge, had been employed in public affairs by an English secretary of state, and had taken part in an embassy to the Netherlands, resided as successor to his father in a small office under the queen. He furthered religion by procuring good preachers to all places thereabouts, charging himself most commonly deepest, and sometimes above his means. The tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, led him and many more of those times to look further into particulars, and to see the burden of many anti-Christian corruptions which both he and they endeavored to cast off.

The age of the queen and the chance of favor to Puritans from her successor conspired to check persecution. The Independents had, it is true, been nearly exterminated; but the non-conforming clergy, after forty years of molestation, had increased, and taken deeper root in the nation. Their followers constituted a powerful political party, inquired into the nature of government, in parliament opposed monopolies, restrained the royal prerogative, and demanded a reform of ecclesiastical abuses. Popular liberty, which used to animate its friends by appeals to the examples of ancient republics, now listened to a voice from the grave of Wycliffe, from the vigils of Calvin. Victorious over her foreign enemies, Elizabeth never could crush the religious party of which she held the increase dangerous to the state. In the latter years of her reign her popularity declined, and after her death "in four

days she was forgotten." The accession of King James, on the third day of April, 1603, would, it was hoped, introduce a milder system; for he had called the church of Scotland "the sincerest kirk of the world;" and had censured the service of England as "an evil said mass."

The pupil of Buchanan was not destitute of shrewdness nor unskilled in rhetoric. He aimed at the reputation of a "most learned clerk," and so successfully that Bacon pronounced him incomparable for learning among kings; and Sully, who knew him well, esteemed him the wisest fool in Europe. At the mature age of thirty-six, the imbecile man, afflicted with an ungainly frame and a timorous nature, escaped from austere supervision in Scotland to freedom of self-indulgence in the English court. His will, like his passions, was feeble, so that he could never carry out a wise resolution; and, in his love of ease, he had no fixed principles of conduct or belief. Moreover, cowardice, which was the core of his character, led him to be false; and he could vindicate deception and cunning as worthy of a king; but he was an awkward liar rather than a crafty dissembler. On his way to a country where the institution of a parliament existed, he desired "to get rid of it," being persuaded that its privileges were not an ancient, undoubted right and inheritance, but were derived solely from grace and favor. His experience in Scotland had persuaded him that Presbyterian government in the church would, in a monarchy, bring forth perpetual rebellions; and while he denied the divine institution of bishops, and cared not for the profits the church might reap from them, he believed they would prove useful instruments to turn a monarchy with a parliament into absolute dominion.

The English hierarchy had feared in their new sovereign the approach of a "Scottish mist;" but the borders of Scotland were hardly passed before James began to identify the interests of the English church with those of his prerogative. "No bishop, no king," was a maxim often in his mouth, at the moment when Archbishop Whitgift could not conceal his disappointment and disquiet of mind, that the Puritans were too numerous to be borne down. While James was in his progress to London, more than seven hundred of them

presented a petition for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances; and a decent respect for the party in which he had been bred, joined to a desire of displaying his talents for theological debate, induced him to appoint a conference at Hampton court.

The conference, held in January, 1604, was distinguished on the part of the king by a strenuous vindication of the church of England. Refusing to discuss the question of its power in things indifferent, he substituted authority for argument, and, where he could not produce conviction, demanded obedience: "I will have none of that liberty as to ceremonies; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

The Puritans desired permission occasionally to assemble, and at their meetings to have the liberty of free discussions; but the king interrupted their petition: "You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus; and, therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say, The king forbids." Turning to the bishops, he avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest supporter of the throne. Of the Puritans, he added: "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse," "only hang them; that's all."

On the last day of the conference, the king defended the necessity of subscription, concluding that, "if any would not be quiet and show their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged." He approved the high commission and inquisitorial oaths, despotic authority and its instruments. A few alterations in the Book of Common Prayer were the only reforms which the conference effected. It was determined that a time should be set, within which all should conform, or be removed. He had insulted the Puritans with vulgar rudeness and indecorous jests, and had talked much Latin; a part of the

time in the presence of the nobility of Scotland and England. "Your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit," said the aged Whitgift, just six weeks before his death. Bishop Bancroft, on his knees, exclaimed that his heart melted for joy, "because God had given England such a king as, since Christ's time, has not been;" and, in a foolish letter, James boasted that "he had soundly peppered off the Puritans."

In the parliament which assembled in 1604, the party for the reform of the church asserted their liberties with such tenacity and vigor that King James began to hate them as embittering royalty itself. "I had rather live like a hermit in the forest," he writes, "than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are that overrule the lower house." "The will of man or angel cannot devise a pleasing answer to their propositions, except I should pull the crown not only from my own head, but also from the head of all those that shall succeed unto me, and lay it down at their feet." At the opening of the session, he had offered "to meet the Catholics in the midway;" while he added that "the sect of Puritans is insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." At the next session of parliament he declared the Roman Catholics to be faithful subjects, but the Puritans worthy of fire for their opinions. Against the latter he inveighed bitterly in council, saying "that the revolt in the Low Countries began for matters of religion, and so did all the troubles in Scotland; that his mother and he, from their cradles, had been haunted with a Puritan devil, which he feared would not leave him to his grave; and that he would hazard his crown but he would suppress those malicious spirits."

The convocation of the clergy were very ready to decree against obstinate Puritans excommunication and all its consequences. Bancroft, the successor of Whitgift, required conformity with unrelenting rigor; King James issued a proclamation of equal severity; and it is asserted, perhaps with exaggeration, yet by those who had opportunities of judging rightly, that in the year 1604 alone three hundred Puritan ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled. The oppressed resisted the surplice, not as a mere vestment, but as the sym-

bol of a priest, ordained by a bishop, imposed upon a church, and teaching by authority. The clergy proceeded with a consistent disregard of the national liberties. The importation of foreign books was impeded, and a severe censorship of the press was exercised by the bishops. The convocation of 1606, in a series of canons, asserted the superiority of the king to the parliament and the laws, and admitted no exception to the duty of passive obedience. The English separatists and non-conformists became the sole protectors of the system which gave to England its distinguishing glory. "The stern and exasperated Puritans," writes Hallam, "were the depositaries of the sacred fire of liberty." "So absolute was the authority of the crown," said Hume, "that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." The lines of the contending parties were sharply drawn. Immediate success was obtained by the established authority; but the contest was to be transmitted to another continent. The interests of human freedom were at issue on the contest.

In the year of this convocation, "a poor people" in the north of England, in towns and villages of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and the borders of Yorkshire, in and near Scrooby, had "become enlightened by the word of God." "Presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and their ministers, urged by the yoke of subscription," were, by the increase of troubles, led "to see further," that not only "the beggarly ceremonies were monuments of idolatry," but "that the lordly power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." Many of them, therefore, "whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth," resolved, "whatever it might cost them, to shake off the anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by a covenant into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel."

"The gospel is every man's right; and it is not to be endured that any one should be kept therefrom. But the evangel is an open doctrine; it is bound to no place, and moves along freely under heaven, like the star, which ran in the sky

to show the wizards from the east where Christ was born. Do not dispute with the prince for place. Let the community choose their own pastor, and support him out of their own estates. If the prince will not suffer it, let the pastor flee into another land, and let those go with him who will, as Christ teaches." Such was the counsel of Luther, on reading "the twelve articles" of the insurgent peasants of Suabia. What Luther advised, what Calvin planned, was carried into effect by this rural community of Englishmen.

The reformed church chose for one of their ministers John Robinson, "a man not easily to be paralleled," "of a most learned, polished, and modest spirit." Their ruling elder was William Brewster, who "was their special stay and help." They were beset and watched night and day by the agents of prelacy. For about a year they kept their meetings every sabbath in one place or another; exercising the worship of God among themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, till the peaceful members of "the poor persecuted flock of Christ," despairing of rest in England, resolved to go into Holland, "where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men."

The departure from England was effected with much suffering and hazard. The first attempt, in 1607, was prevented; but the magistrates checked the ferocity of the subordinate officers; and, after a month's arrest of the whole company, seven only of the principal men were detained a little longer in prison.

The next spring the design was renewed. An unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, was the place of secret meeting. Just as a boat was bearing a part of the emigrants to their ship, a company of horsemen appeared in pursuit, and seized on the helpless women and children who had not yet adventured on the surf. "Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side." But, when they were apprehended, it seemed impossible to punish and imprison wives and children for no other crime than that they would not part from their husbands and fathers. They could not be sent home, for "they had no homes to go to;" so that, at last,

the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them on any terms," "though, in the mean time, they, poor souls, endured misery enough." Such was the flight of Robinson and Brewster and their followers from the land of their fathers.

Their arrival in Amsterdam, in 1608, was but the beginning of their wanderings. "They knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." In 1609, removing to Leyden, "they saw poverty coming on them like an armed man;" but, being "careful to keep their word, and painful and diligent in their callings," they attained "a comfortable condition, grew in the gifts and grace of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness." "Never," said the magistrates of the city, "never did we have any suit or accusation against any of them;" and, but for fear of offence to King James, they would have met with public favor. "Many came there from different parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." "Such was the humble zeal and fervent love of this people toward God and his ways, and their single-heartedness and sincere affection one toward another," that they seemed to come surpassingly near "the primitive pattern of the first churches." A clear and well-written apology of their discipline was published by Robinson, who, in the controversy on free-will, as the champion of orthodoxy, "began to be terrible to the Arminians," and disputed in the university with such power that, as his friends assert, "the truth had a famous victory."

The career of maritime discovery had, meantime, been pursued with intrepidity and rewarded with success. The voyages of Gosnold, Waymouth, Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, Willes, and Hakluyt—had filled the commercial world with wonder; Calvinists of the French church had sought, though vainly, to plant themselves in Brazil, in Carolina, and, with De Monts, in Acadia; while weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a teacher of English and a printer; Bradford,

who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The Dutch language never became pleasantly familiar to them, and the Dutch manners still less so. They lived but as men in exile. Many of their English friends would not come to them, or departed from them weeping. "Their continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, left them in danger to scatter or sink." "Their children, sharing their parents' burdens, bowed under the weight, and were becoming decrepit in early youth." Conscious of ability to act a higher part in the great drama of humanity, they, after ten years, were moved by "a hope and inward zeal of advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in the remote parts of the New World; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work."

"Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers;" but an inborn love for the English nation and for their mother tongue led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were "restless" with the desire to remove to "the most northern parts of Virginia," hoping, under the general government of that province, "to live in a distinct body by themselves." To obtain the consent of the London company, John Carver, with Robert Cushman, in 1617, repaired to England. They took with them "seven articles," from the members of the church at Leyden, to be submitted to the council in England for Virginia. These articles discussed the relations which, as separatists in religion, they bore to their prince; and they adopted the theory which the admonitions of Luther and a century of persecution had developed as the common rule of plebeian sectaries on the continent of Europe. They expressed their concurrence in the creed of the Anglican church, and a desire of spiritual communion with its members. Toward the king and all civil authority derived from him, including the civil authority of bishops, they promised, as they would have done to Nero and the Roman pontifex, "obedience in all things, active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive if it be." They denied all power to ecclesiastical bodies, unless it were given by the

temporal magistrate. They pledged themselves to honor their superiors, and to preserve unity of spirit in peace with all men. "Divers selecte gentlemen of the council for Virginia were well satisfied with their statement, and resolved to set forward their desire." The London company listened very willingly to their proposal, so that their agents "found God going along with them;" and, through the influence of "Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living," a patent might at once have been taken, had not the envoys desired first to consult "the multitude" at Leyden.

On the fifteenth of December, 1617, the pilgrims transmitted their formal request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. "We are well weaned," added Robinson and Brewster, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

The messengers of the pilgrims, satisfied with their reception by the Virginia company, petitioned the king for liberty of religion, to be confirmed under the king's broad seal. But here they encountered insurmountable difficulties. Of all men in the government of that day, Lord Bacon had given the most attention to colonial enterprise. The settlements of the Scotch in Ireland enjoyed his particular favor. To him, as "to the encourager, pattern, and perfecter of all vertuous endeavors," Strachey at this time dedicated his "Historie of Travaile into Virginia"; to him John Smith, in his "povertie," turned for encouragement in colonizing New England, as to "a chief patron of his country and the greatest favorer of all good designs." To him Sir George Villiers, the favorite of James, addressed himself for advice, and received instructions how to govern himself in office.

The great master of speculative wisdom knew too little of religion to inculcate freedom of conscience. He saw that the established church, which he cherished as the eye of England,

was not without blemish; that the wrongs of the Puritans could neither be dissembled nor excused; that the silencing of ministers, for the sake of enforcing the ceremonies, was, in the scarcity of good preachers, a punishment that lighted on the people; and he esteemed controversy "the wind by which truth is winnowed." But Bacon was formed for contemplative life, not for action; his will was feeble, and yet, having an incessant yearning for vain distinction and display, he became a craven courtier and an intolerant statesman. "Discipline by bishops," said he, "is fittest for monarchy of all others. The tenets of separatists and sectaries are full of schism, and inconsistent with monarchy. The king will beware of Anabaptists, Brownists, and others of their kinds; a little connivency sets them on fire. For the discipline of the church in colonies, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat, which must be seamless; and, to that purpose, it will be fit that by the king's supreme power in causes ecclesiastical, within all his dominions, they be subordinate under some bishop and bishoprick of this realm. This caution is to be observed, that if any transplant themselves into plantations abroad, who are known schismatics, outlaws, or criminal persons, they be sent for back upon the first notice."

These maxims prevailed at the council-board, when the envoys from the independent church at Leyden preferred their requests. "Who shall make your ministers?" it was asked of them; and the avowal of their principle, that ordination requires no bishop, threatened to spoil all. To advance the dominions of England, King James esteemed "a good and honest motion; and fishing was an honest trade, the apostles' own calling;" yet he referred the suit to the prelates of Canterbury and London. Even while the negotiations were pending, a royal declaration constrained the Puritans of Lancashire to conform or leave the kingdom; and nothing more could be obtained for the wilds of America than an informal promise of neglect. On this the community relied, being advised not to entangle themselves with the bishops. "If there should afterward be a purpose to wrong us," thus they communed with themselves, "though we had a seal as broad as

the house-floor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it. We must rest herein on God's providence."

Better hopes seemed to dawn when, in 1619, the London company for Virginia elected for their treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys, who from the first had befriended the pilgrims. Under his presidency, so writes one of their number, the members of the company in their open court "demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent." As it was taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, the patent was never of any service. And, besides, the pilgrims, after investing all their own means, had not sufficient capital to execute their schemes.

In this extremity, Robinson looked for aid to the Dutch. He and his people and their friends, to the number of four hundred families, professed themselves well inclined to emigrate to the country on the Hudson, and to plant there a new commonwealth under the command of the stadholder and the states general. The West India company was willing to transport them without charge, and to furnish them with cattle; but when its directors petitioned the states general to promise protection to the enterprise against all violence from other potentates, the request was found to be in conflict with the policy of the Dutch republic, and was refused.

The members of the church of Leyden, ceasing "to meddle with the Dutch, or to depend too much on the Virginia company," now trusted to their own resources and the aid of private friends. The fisheries had commended American expeditions to English merchants; and the agents from Leyden were able to form a partnership between their employers and men of business in London. The services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of ten pounds, and belonged to the company; all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided among the share-holders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked one hundred pounds, would receive for his money tenfold as much as the penniless laborer for his services. This arrangement threatened a seven years' check to

the pecuniary prosperity of the community; yet, as it did not interfere with civil rights or religion, it was accepted.

And now, in July, 1620, the English at Leyden, trusting in God and in themselves, made ready for their departure. The ships which they had provided—the Speedwell, of sixty tons, the Mayflower, of one hundred and eighty tons—could hold but a minority of the congregation; and Robinson was therefore detained at Leyden, while Brewster, the governing elder, who was an able teacher, conducted "such of the youngest and strongest as freely offered themselves." A solemn fast was held. "Let us seek of God," said they, "a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Anticipating the sublime lessons of liberty that would grow out of their religious tenets, Robinson gave them a farewell, saying:

"I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. I beseech you, remember it—'tis an article of your church covenant—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

"When the ship was ready to carry us away," writes Edward Winslow, "the brethren that stayed at Leyden, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and, indeed, it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delft-Haven, where we went to embark, and then feasted us again; and, after prayer, performed by our pastor, when a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able

to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only, going aboard, gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

In August the Mayflower and the Speedwell left Southampton for America. But as they were twice compelled to put back by the dismay of the captain of the Speedwell, at Plymouth "they agreed to dismiss her, and those who were willing returned to London, though this was very grievous and discouraging." Having thus winnowed their numbers, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village of one hundred and two souls, went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and, on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, they set sail for a new world.

Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted with the Roman Catholic hierarchy; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had awakened a corresponding activity in politics. The pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for conscience, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of wide observation, and equal in rank as in rights.

The eastern coast of the United States abounds in convenient harbors, bays, and rivers. The pilgrims, having selected for their settlement the country on the Hudson, the best position on the whole coast, were conducted to the least fertile part of Massachusetts. After a boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, during which one person had died and one was born, they espied land; and, in two days more, on the ninth of November, cast anchor in the first harbor within Cape Cod. On the eleventh, before they landed, they formed themselves into a body politic by this voluntary compact:

"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James,

having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue thereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred and two, the whole colony, "the proper democracy," that arrived in New England. In the cabin of the Mayflower humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of "equal laws" enacted by all the people for "the general good." John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year.

Men who emigrate, even in well-inhabited districts, pray that their journey may not be in winter. Wasted by the rough voyage, scantily supplied with provisions, the English fugitives found themselves, in the last days of the year, on a bleak and barren coast, in a severe climate, with the ocean on one side and the wilderness on the other. The nearest French settlement was at Port Royal; it was five hundred miles to the English plantation at Virginia. As they attempted to disembark, the water was found so shallow that they were forced to wade; and, in the freezing weather, this sowed the seeds of consumption. The bitterness of mortal disease was their welcome to the inhospitable shore.

The spot for the settlement remained to be chosen. The shallop was unshipped, and it was a real disaster to find that it needed repairs. The carpenter made slow work, so that sixteen or seventeen days elapsed before it was ready for service. But Standish and Bradford and others, impatient of the delay, determined to explore the country by land. "In regard to the danger," the expedition "was rather per-

mitted than approved." Much hardship was endured; but no beneficial discoveries could be made in the deep sands near Paomet creek. The first expedition in the shallop was likewise unsuccessful; "some of the people that died that winter took the original of their death" in the enterprise; "for it snowed and did blow all the day and night, and froze withal." The men who were set on shore "were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow." A heap of maize was discovered; and further search led to a burial-place of the Indians; but they found "no more corn, nor anything else but graves."

On the sixth, the shallop was again sent out, with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, and eight or ten seamen. The spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. That day they reached Billingsgate point, half way to the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, on the western shore of Wellfleet harbor. The next morning the party divided; those on land find a burial-place, graves, and four or five deserted wigwams, but neither people nor any place inviting a settlement. Before night they all met by the sea-side, and encamped near Namskeket, or Great Meadow creek.

On the eighth they rose at five; their morning prayers were finished, when, as the day dawned, a war-whoop and a flight of arrows announced an attack from Indians. They were of the tribe of the Nausites, who knew the English as kidnappers; but the encounter was without further result. Again the boat's crew give thanks to God, and steer their bark along the coast for the distance of fifteen leagues. But no convenient harbor is discovered. The pilot, who had been in these regions before, gives assurance of a good one, which may be reached before night; and they follow his guidance. After some hours' sailing, a storm of snow and rain begins; the sea swells; the rudder breaks; the boat must now be steered with oars; the storm increases; night is at hand; to reach the harbor before dark, as much sail as possible is borne; the mast breaks into three pieces; the sail falls overboard; but the tide is favorable. The pilot, in dismay, would have

run the boat on shore in a cove full of breakers. "About with her," exclaimed a sailor, "or we are cast away." They get her about immediately; and, passing over the surf, they enter a fair sound, and shelter themselves under the lee of a small rise of land. It becomes dark, and the rain beats furiously. After great difficulty, they kindle a fire on shore.

The light of the morning of the ninth showed them to be on a small island within the entrance of a harbor. The day was spent in rest and repairs. The next day was the "Christian sabbath," and the pilgrims kept it sacredly, though every consideration demanded haste.

On Monday, the eleventh of December, old style, on the day of the winter solstice, the exploring party of the forefathers land at Plymouth. That day is kept as the origin of New England.

The spot, when examined, promised them a home, and on the fifteenth the Mayflower was safely moored in its harbor. In memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed, this oldest New England colony took the name of Plymouth. The system of civil government had been established by common agreement; the church had been organized before it left Leyden. As the pilgrims landed, their institutions were already perfected. Democratic liberty and independent Christian worship started into being.

On the ninth of January, 1621, they began to build—a difficult task for men of whom one half were wasting away with consumptions and lung-fevers. For the sake of haste, it was agreed that every man should build his own house; but, though the winter was unwontedly mild, frost and foul weather were great hindrances; they could seldom work half of the week; and tenements rose slowly in the intervals between storms of sleet and snow.

A few years before, a pestilence had swept away the neighboring tribes. Yet when, in February, a body of Indians from abroad was discovered hovering near, though disappearing when pursued, the colony was organized for defence, with Miles Standish as its captain. But dangers from the natives were not at hand.

One day in March, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, entered the town, and, passing to the rendezvous, exclaimed in English: "Welcome, Englishmen." He was the envoy of Massassoit himself, "the greatest commander of the country," sachem of the tribe possessing the land north of Narragansett bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton. After some little negotiation, in which an Indian, who had been carried to England, acted as an interpreter, the chieftain came in person to visit the pilgrims. With their wives and children they amounted to no more than fifty. He was received with due ceremonies, and a treaty of friendship was completed in few and unequivocal terms. Both parties promised to abstain from mutual injuries, and to deliver up offenders; the colonists were to receive assistance, if attacked; to render it, if Massassoit should be attacked unjustly. The treaty included the confederates of the sachem; it is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England; was concluded in a day; and was sacredly kept for more than half a century. Massassoit needed the alliance, for the powerful Narragansetts were his enemies; his tribe desired an interchange of commodities; while the emigrants obtained peace, security, and a profitable commerce.

On the third of March, a south wind had brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But spring had far advanced before the mortality grew less. It was afterward remarked, with modest gratitude, that, of the survivors, very many lived to an extreme old age. A shelter, not less than comfort, had been wanting; the living had been scarce able to bury the dead; the well too few to take care of the sick. At the season of greatest distress there were but seven able to render assistance. Carver, the governor, at his first landing, lost a son; by his care for the common good, he shortened his own days; and his wife, broken-hearted, followed him in death. Brewster was the life and stay of the plantation; but, he being its ruling elder, William Bradford, its historian, was chosen Carver's successor. The record of misery was kept by the graves of the governor and half the company.

After sickness abated, privation and want remained to be encountered. Yet, when in April the Mayflower was despatched for England, not one returned in her, while just before autumn new emigrants arrived. In July, an embassy from the little colony to Massassoit, their ally, performed through the forests and on foot, confirmed the treaty of amity, and prepared the way for a trade in furs.

The influence of the English over the aborigines was rapidly extended. A sachem, who menaced their safety, was compelled to sue for mercy; and, in September, nine chiefs subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. The bay of Massachusetts and harbor of Boston were explored. The supply of bread was scanty; but, at their rejoicing together after the harvest, the colonists had great plenty of wild fowl and venison, so that they feasted Massassoit with some ninety of his men.

Canonicus, the sachem of the Narragansetts, whose territory had escaped the ravages of the pestilence, at first desired to treat of peace; in 1622, a bundle of arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, was his message of hostility. But, when Bradford sent back the skin stuffed with powder and shot, his courage quailed, and he sued for amity.

The returns from agriculture were uncertain so long as the system of common property prevailed. After the harvest of 1623, there was no general want of food; in the spring of that year, each family planted for itself; and parcels of land, in proportion to numbers, were assigned for tillage, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labor and universal industry; "even women and children now went into the field to work." In the spring of 1624, every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee, and neat cattle were introduced. Before many harvests, so much corn was raised that the Indians, preferring the chase to tillage, looked to the men of Plymouth for their supply.

The fur trade was an object of envy; and Thomas Weston, who had been active among the London adventurers in establishing the colony, desired to engross its profits. In 1622, a patent for land near Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbor, was easily obtained; and sixty men were sent over.

Helpless at their arrival, they intruded themselves, for most of the summer, upon the unrequited hospitality of the people of Plymouth. In their own plantation, they were soon reduced to necessity by their want of thrift and injustice toward the Indians; and a plot was formed for their destruction. But Massassoit revealed the design to his allies; and the planters at Weymouth were saved by the wisdom of the older colony and the intrepid gallantry of Standish. It was "his capital exploit." Some of the rescued men went to Plymouth; some sailed for England. One short year saw the beginning and decay of Weston's adventure.

The partnership of the Plymouth men with English merchants proved oppressive; for it kept from them their pastor. Robinson and the rest of his church at Leyden were longing to rejoin their brethren; the adventurers in England refused to provide them a passage, and attempted, with but short success, to force upon the colony a clergyman more friendly to the established church. Offended by opposition, and discouraged at the small returns from their investments, they became ready to prey upon their associates in America. A ship was despatched to rival them in their business; goods, which were sent for their supply, were sold to them at an advance of seventy per cent. The curse of usury, which always falls so heavily upon new settlements, did not spare them; for, being left without help from the partners, they were obliged to borrow money at fifty per cent and at thirty per cent interest. At last the emigrants purchased the entire rights of the English adventurers; and the common property was equitably divided. For a six years' monopoly of trade, eight of the most enterprising men assumed all the engagements of the colony; so that the cultivators of the soil became really freeholders; neither debts nor rent-day troubled them.

Hardly were they planted in America when their enterprise took a wide range; before Massachusetts was settled, they had acquired rights at Cape Ann, as well as an extensive domain on the Kennebec; and they were the first of the English to establish a post on the Connecticut. But the progress of population was very slow; and at the end of ten years the colony contained no more than three hundred souls. Robin-

son died at Leyden; his heart was in America, where his memory will never die. The remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, came over, so soon as means could be provided to defray the costs.

The frame of civil government in the old colony was of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by general suffrage, whose power, always subordinate to the common will, was, at the desire of Bradford, in 1624, restricted by a council of five, and, in 1633, of seven, assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. There could be no law or imposition without consent of the freemen. For more than eighteen years "the whole body of the male inhabitants" constituted the legislature; the state was governed, like a town, as a strict democracy; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less than on judicial questions. At length, in 1639, after the increase of population, and its diffusion over a wider territory, each town sent its committee to a general court.

The men of Plymouth exercised self-government without the sanction of a royal charter, which it was ever impossible for them to obtain; it was, therefore, in themselves that their institutions found the guarantee for stability. They never hesitated to punish small offences; it was only after some scruples that they inflicted capital punishment. Their doubts being once removed, they exercised the same authority as the charter governments. Death was, by subsequent laws, made the penalty for several crimes, but was never inflicted except for murder. House-breaking and highway robbery were offences unknown in their courts, and too little apprehended to be made subjects of severe legislation.

"To enjoy religious liberty was the known end of the first comers' great adventure into this remote wilderness;" and they desired no increase but from the friends of their communion. Yet their residence in Holland had made them acquainted with various forms of Christianity; a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution, though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime. In 1645, a majority of the house of delegates were in

favor of an act to "allow and maintain full and free toleration to all men that would preserve the civil peace and submit unto government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicolaitan, Familist, or any other;" but the governor refused to put the question, and so stifled the law.

It is as guides and pioneers that the fathers of the old colony merit gratitude. Through scenes of gloom and misery they showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the liberty of conscience. Accustomed "in their native land to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry," they set the example of colonizing New England with freeholders, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the fame which their successors would award to them. "Out of small beginnings," said Bradford, "great things have been produced; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort to our whole nation." "Let it not be grievous to you" —such was the consolation offered from England to the pilgrims in the season of their greatest sufferings—"let it not be grievous to you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end." "Yea, the memory of the adventurers to this plantation shall never die."

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION.

While the king was engaged in the overthrow of the London company, its more loyal rival in the West of England sought new letters-patent with a great enlargement of their domain. The remonstrances of the Virginia corporation and the rights of English commerce could delay for two years, but not defeat, the measure that was pressed by the friends of the monarch. On the third of November, 1620, King James incorporated forty of his subjects—some of them members of his household and his government, the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility—as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in America." The territory, which was conferred on them in absolute property, with unlimited powers of legislation and government, extended from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The grant included the fisheries; and a revenue was considered certain from a duty to be imposed on all tonnage employed in them.

The patent placed emigrants to New England under the absolute authority of the corporation, and it was through grants from that plenary power, confirmed by the crown, that institutions the most favorable to colonial independence and the rights of mankind came into being. The French derided the action of the British monarch in bestowing lands and privileges which their own sovereign seventeen years before had appropriated. The English nation was incensed at the largess of immense monopolies by the royal prerogative; and in April, 1621, Sir Edwin Sandys brought the grievance before

the house of commons. "Shall the English," he asked, "be debarred from the freedom of the fisheries—a privilege which the French and Dutch enjoy? It costs the kingdom nothing but labor, employs shipping, and furnishes the means of a lucrative commerce with Spain." "The fishermen hinder the plantations," replied Calvert; "they choke the harbors with their ballast, and waste the forests by improvident use. America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament. You have, therefore, no right to interfere." "We may make laws for Virginia," rejoined another member; "a bill passed by the commons and the lords, if it receive the king's assent, will control the patent." The charter, argued Sir Edward Coke, with ample reference to early statutes, was granted without regard to previously existing rights, and is therefore void by the established laws of England. But the parliament was dissolved before a bill could be perfected.

In 1622, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to fish on the coasts of New England, and made good voyages. The monopolists appealed to King James, and he issued a proclamation, which forbade any to approach the northern coast of America, except with the leave of their company or of the privy council. In June, 1623, Francis West was despatched as admiral of New England, to exclude such fishermen as came without a license. But they refused to pay the tax which he imposed, and his ineffectual authority was soon resigned.

The company, alike prodigal of charters and tenacious of their monopoly, having, in December, 1622, given to Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts bay and thirty miles into the interior, appointed him lieutenant-general of New England, with power "to restrain interlopers." Morell, an Episcopal clergyman, was provided with a commission for the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs. In 1623, under this patent the colony at Weymouth was revived, to meet once more with ill fortune. Morell, remaining in New England about a year, wrote a description of the country in very good Latin verse. The attempt of Robert Gorges at colonization ended in a short-lived dispute with Weston.

When, in 1624, parliament was again convened, the commons resolved that English fishermen should have fishing with all its incidents. "Your patent," thus Gorges was addressed by Coke from the speaker's chair, "contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." "Shall none," asked the veteran lawyer in debate, "shall none visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and the sun." It was in vain for Sir George Calvert to resist; the bill for free fishing was adopted, but it never received the royal assent.

The determined opposition of the house, though it could not move the king to overthrow the corporation, paralyzed its enterprise; and the cottages, which, within a few years, rose along the coast from Cape Cod to the bay of Fundy, were the results of private adventure.

Gorges, the most energetic member of the council of Plymouth, had not allowed repeated ill success to chill his confidence and decision; and he found in John Mason, "who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, a man of action," like himself. It was not difficult for Mason, who had been elected an associate and secretary of the council, to obtain, in March, 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem river and the farthest head of the Merrimack; but he did no more with it than name it Mariana. In August, 1622, Gorges and Mason took a patent for Laconia, the country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimack, and the Kennebec; a company of English merchants was formed, and under its auspices, in 1623, permanent plantations were established on the banks of the Piscataqua. Portsmouth and Dover are among the oldest towns in New England. In the same year an attempt was made by Christopher Lovett to colonize the county and city of York, for which, at a later day, collections were ordered to be taken up in all the churches of England.

When the country on Massachusetts bay was granted to a company, of which the zeal and success were soon to overshadow all the efforts of proprietaries and merchants, Mason

procured a new patent; and, in November, 1629, he received a fresh title to the territory between the Merrimack and Piscataqua, in terms which in some degree interfered with the pretensions of his neighbors on the south. This was the patent for New Hampshire, and was pregnant with nothing so signally as suits at law. The region had been devastated by the mutual wars of the tribes and the same wasting pestilence which left New Plymouth a desert; no notice seems to have been taken of the rights of the natives, nor did they now issue any deed of their lands; but the soil in the immediate vicinity of Dover, and afterward of Portsmouth, was conveyed to the planters themselves, or to those at whose expense the settlement had been made. A favorable impulse was thus given to the little colonies; and houses began to be built on the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua. But the progress of the town was slow; Josselyn, in 1638, described the coast as a wilderness, with here and there a few huts scattered by the sea-side. Thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth contained "between fifty and sixty families."

When, in 1635, the charter of the council of Plymouth was about to be revoked, Mason extended his pretensions to the Salem river, the southern boundary of his first territory, and obtained of the expiring corporation a corresponding patent. But he died before the king confirmed his grant, and his family avoided further expense by leaving the few inhabitants of New Hampshire to take care of themselves.

The designs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges were continued without great success. His first act with reference to the territory of the present state of Maine was to invite the Scottish nation to become the guardians of its frontier. Sir William Alexander, the ambitious writer of turgid rhyming tragedies, a man of influence with King James, and desirous of engaging in colonial adventure, seconded the design; and, in September, 1621, he obtained without difficulty a patent for the territory east of the river St. Croix and south of the St. Lawrence. The region, which had already been included in the provinces of Acadia and New France, was named Nova Scotia. Thus were the seeds of future wars scattered broadcast; for James gave away lands which already, and with a better title

on the ground of discovery, had been granted by Henry IV. of France, and occupied by his subjects. Twice attempts were made to effect a Scottish settlement; but, notwithstanding a brilliant eulogy of the soil, climate, and productions of Nova Scotia, they were fruitless.

It may be left to English historians to relate how much their country suffered from the childish ambition of King James to marry the prince of Wales to the daughter of the king of Spain. In the rash and unsuccessful visit of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, the former learned to cherish the fine arts, and to rivet his belief that the king of England was rightfully as absolute as the monarchs of France and Spain; the latter received accounts of abundance of gold in the valley of the Amazon, and, after his return, obtained a grant of the territory on that river, with the promise of aid in his enterprise from the king of Sweden.

After the death of James, the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria promised between the rival claimants of the wilds of Acadia a peaceful adjustment of jarring pretensions. Yet, even at that period, the claims of France were not recognised by England; and, in July, 1625, a new patent confirmed to Sir William Alexander all the prerogatives which had been lavished on him, with the right of creating an order of baronets. The sale of titles proved to the poet a lucrative traffic; the project of a colony was abandoned.

The self-willed, feeble monarch of England, having twice abruptly dissolved parliament, and having vainly resorted to illegal modes of taxation, found himself destitute of money and of credit, and yet engaged in a war with Spain. At such a moment, in 1627, Buckingham, eager to thwart Richelieu, hurried England into a needless and disastrous conflict with France.

Hostilities were nowhere successfully attempted, except in America. In 1628, Port Royal fell easily into the hands of the English; the conquest was no more than the acquisition of a small trading station. Sir David Kirk and his two brothers, Louis and Thomas, were commissioned to ascend the St. Lawrence, and Quebec received a summons to surrender. The garrison, destitute alike of provisions and of military stores, had no hope but in the character of Champlain, its com-

mander; his answer of proud defiance concealed his weakness, and the intimidated assailants withdrew. But Richelieu sent no seasonable supplies; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine; and when, in 1629, the squadron of Kirk reappeared before the town, Quebec capitulated. That is to say, England gained possession of a few wretched hovels, tenanted by a hundred famished men, and a fortress of which the English admiral could not but admire the position. Not a port in North America remained to the French; from Long Island to the pole, England had no rival. But, before the conquest of Canada was achieved, peace had been proclaimed; and, as an article in the treaty promised the restitution of all acquisitions made subsequent to April 14, 1629, Richelieu recovered not Quebec and Canada only, but Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia.

From the scanty memorials which the earliest settlers of the coast east of New Hampshire have left, it is perhaps not possible to ascertain precisely when the fishing stages of a summer began to be transformed into permanent establishments. In 1626, the first settlement was probably made "on the Maine," a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid.

Hardly had the settlement, which claimed the distinction of being the oldest on that coast, gained a permanent existence, before a succession of patents distributed the territory from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot among various proprietors. The grants issued from 1629 to 1631 were couched in vague language, and were made in hasty succession, without deliberation on the part of the council of Plymouth, and without any firm purpose of establishing colonies by those to whom they were issued. In consequence, as the neighborhood of the French foreboded border feuds, so uncertainty about land titles and boundaries threatened perpetual lawsuits. At the same time enterprise was wasted by its diffusion over too wide a surface. Every harbor along the sea was accessible, and groups of cabins were scattered at wide intervals, without any point of union. Agriculture was hardly attempted. The musket and the hook and line were more productive than the implements of husbandry. The farmers who came to occupy a district of forty miles square, named

Lygonia, and stretching from Harpswell to the Kennebec, soon sought a home among the rising settlements of Massachusetts. Except for peltry and fish, the coast of Maine would not at that time have been tenanted by Englishmen.

Yet, from pride of character, Gorges clung to the project of territorial aggrandizement. When, in February, 1635, Mason limited himself to the country west of the Piscataqua, while Sir William Alexander obtained of the Plymouth company a patent for the country between the St. Croix and the Kennebec, Gorges succeeded in soliciting the district that remained between the Kennebec and New Hampshire, and was named governor-general of New England. Without delay he sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern his territory. Saco may have contained one hundred and fifty inhabitants when, in 1636, the first court ever duly organized on the soil of Maine was held within its limits. Before that time there may have been voluntary combinations of the settlers themselves; but there had existed on the Kennebec no power to prevent or to punish bloodshed. William Gorges remained in the country less than two years. Six Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who, in 1637, received a commission to act as his successors, declined the trust, and for two years no records of the infant settlements then called New Somersetshire can be found. In April, 1639, a royal charter constituted Gorges the lord proprietary of the country, for which the old soldier, who had never seen America, immediately aspired to establish boroughs, frame schemes of colonial government, and enact a code of laws.

The region which lies but a little nearer the sun was already converted, by the energy of religious zeal, into a busy, well-organized, and even opulent state. The early history of Massachusetts is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their qualities and influence as any by which the human race has been diversified.

The settlement near Weymouth was kept up; a plantation was begun near Mount Wollaston, within the present limits of Quincy; and the merchants of the west continued their voyages to New England for fish and furs. But these things were of feeble moment, compared with the attempt at

a permanent establishment near Cape Ann; by which Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, and John White, the patriarch minister of Dorchester, Puritans, but not separatists, "occasioned, yea, founded the work" of colonization, on a higher principle than the desire of gain. "He would go himself but for his age," declared Lake shortly before his death. Roger Conant, having left New Plymouth for Nantasket, through a brother in England who was a friend of White, the minister, in 1625, obtained the agency of the adventure. A year's experience proved that the speculation must change its form or it would produce no results; the merchants, therefore, paid with honest liberality all the persons whom they had employed, and abandoned the unprofitable scheme. But Conant, a man of extraordinary vigor, "inspired as it were by some superior instinct," and confiding in the active friendship of White, succeeded in breathing a portion of his sublime courage into three of his companions; and, making choice of Salem as opening a convenient place of refuge for the exiles for religion, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the bay of Massachusetts.

In the year 1627, some friends being together in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the gospel there; and, after some deliberation, they imparted their reasons by letters and messages to some in London and the west country.

"The business came afresh to agitation" in London; the project of colonizing by the aid of fishing voyages was given up; and from that city, Lincolnshire, and the west country, men of fortune and religious zeal, merchants and country gentlemen, the discreeter sort among the many who desired a reformation in church government, "offered the help of their purses" to advance "the glory of God" by establishing a colony of the best of their countrymen on the shores of New England. To facilitate the grant of a charter from the crown, they sought the concurrence of the council of Plymouth for New England; they were befriended in their application by the earl of Warwick, and obtained the approbation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and, on the nineteenth of March, 1628, that company, which had proved itself incapable of colonizing

its domain, and could derive revenue only from sales of territory, disregarding a former grant of a large district on the Charles river, conveyed to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcomb, a belt of land extending three miles south of the river Charles and the Massachusetts bay, and three miles north of every part of the river Merrimack, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, to be held by the same tenure as in the county of Kent. The grantees associated to themselves Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Increase Nowell, Richard Bellingham, Theophilus Eaton, William Pynchon, and others, of whom nearly all united religious zeal with a capacity for vigorous action. Endecott —who, "ever since the Lord in mercy had revealed himself unto him," had maintained the straitest judgment against the outward form of God's worship as prescribed by English statutes; a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage; benevolent, though austere; firm, though choleric; of a rugged nature, which his stern principles of non-conformity had not served to mellow—was selected as a "fit instrument to begin this wilderness work." In 1628, before June came to an end, he was sent over as governor, assisted by a few men, having his wife and family for the companions of his voyage, the hostages of his irrevocable attachment to the New World. Arriving in safety in September, he united his own party and those who had gone there before him into one body, which counted in all not much above fifty or sixty persons. With these he founded the oldest town in the colony, soon to be called Salem, and extended some supervision over the waters of Boston harbor, then called Massachusetts bay, near which the lands were "counted the paradise of New England." At Charlestown an Englishman, one Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, dwelt in a thatched and palisaded cabin. William Blackstone, an Episcopal clergyman, a courteous recluse, gifted with the impatience of restraint which belongs to the pioneer, had seated himself on the opposite peninsula; the island now known as East Boston was occupied by Samuel Maverick, a prelatist, though son of a pious non-conformist minister of the west of England. At

Nantasket and farther south, stragglers lingered near the seaside, attracted by the gains of a fishing station and a petty trade in beaver. The Puritan ruler visited the remains of Morton's unruly company in what is now Quincy, rebuked them for their profane revels, and admonished them "to look there should be better walking."

After the departure of the emigrant ship from England, the company, counselled by White, an eminent lawyer, and supported by Lord Dorchester, better known as Sir Dudley Carleton, who, in December, became secretary of state, obtained from the king a confirmation of their grant. It was the only way to secure the country as a part of his dominions; for the Dutch were already trading in the Connecticut river; the French claimed New England as within the limits of New France; and the prelatical party, which had endeavored again and again to colonize the coast, had tried only to fail. Before the news reached London of Endecott's arrival, the number of adventurers was much enlarged; on the second of March, 1629, an offer of "Boston men," that promised good to the plantation, was accepted; and on the fourth of the same month, a few days only before Charles I., in a public state paper, avowed his purpose of reigning without a parliament, the broad seal of England was put to the letters-patent for Massachusetts.

The charter, which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, constituted a body politic by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. The administration of its affairs was intrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were annually, on the last Wednesday of Easter term, to be elected by the freemen or members of the corporation, and to meet once a month or oftener "for despatching such businesses as concerned the company or plantation." Four times a year the governor, assistants, and all the freemen were to be summoned to "one great, general, and solemn assembly;" and these "great and general courts" were invested with full powers to choose and admit into the company so many as they should think fit, to elect and constitute all requisite subordinate officers, and to make laws and ordinances for the

welfare of the company and for the government of the lands and the inhabitants of the plantation, "so as such laws and ordinances be not contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England."

"The principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts," wrote Charles II. at a later day, when he had Clarendon for his adviser, "was the freedom of liberty of conscience." The governor, or his deputy, or two of the assistants, was empowered, but not required, to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to every person who should go to inhabit the granted lands; and, as the statutes establishing the common prayer and spiritual courts did not reach beyond the realm, the silence of the charter respecting them released the colony from their power. The English government did not foresee how wide a departure from English usages would grow out of the emigration of Puritans to America; but, as conformity was not required of the new commonwealth, the persecutions in England were a guarantee that the immense majority of emigrants would be fugitives who scrupled compliance with the common prayer. Freedom of Puritan worship was the purpose and the result of the colony. The proceedings of the company, moreover, did not fall under the immediate supervision of the king, and did not need his assent; so that self-direction, in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, passed to the patentees, subject only to conflicts with the undefined prerogative of the king, and the unsettled claim to superior authority by parliament.

The company was authorized to transport to its territory any persons, whether English or foreigners, who would go willingly, would become lieges of the English king, and were not restrained "by especial name;" and they were encouraged to do so by a promise of favor to the commerce of the colony with foreign parts, and a total or partial exemption from duties for seven and for twenty-one years. The emigrants and their posterity were ever to be considered as natural-born subjects, entitled to all English liberties and immunities.

The corporate body alone was to decide what liberties the colonists should enjoy. All ordinances published under its seal were to be implicitly obeyed. Full legislative and execu-

tive authority was conferred on the company, but the place where it should hold its courts was not named.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, the first embarkation was far advanced. The local government temporarily established for Massachusetts was to consist of a governor and thirteen councillors, of whom eight were to be appointed by the corporation in England; three were to be named by these eight; and, to complete the number, the old planters who intended to remain were "to choose two of the discreetest men among themselves."

As the propagating of the gospel was the professed aim of the company, care was taken to make plentiful provision of godly ministers; all "of one judgment, and fully agreed on the manner how to exercise their ministry." One of them was Samuel Skelton, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, from whose faithful preachings Endecott had formerly received much good; a friend to the utmost equality of privileges in church and state. Another was the able, reverend, and grave Francis Higginson, of Jesus College, Cambridge, commended for his worth by Isaac Johnson, the friend of Hampden. Deprived of his parish in Leicester for non-conformity, he received the invitation to conduct the emigrants as a call from Heaven.

Two other ministers were added, that there might be enough, not only to build up those of the English nation, but also to "wynne the natives to the Christian faith." "If any of the salvages," such were the instructions to Endecott, uniformly followed under the succeeding changes of government, "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, endeavor to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." In pious sincerity, the company desired to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us"—a device of which the appropriateness has been lost by the modern substitution of the line of Algernon Sidney, which invites to the quest of freedom by the sword.

The passengers for Salem included six shipwrights and an experienced surveyor, who was to give advice on the proper

site for a fortified town, and, with Samuel Sharpe, master gunner of ordnance, was to muster all such as lived under the government, both planters and servants, and at appointed times to exercise them in the use of arms. A store of cattle, horses, and goats was put on shipboard. Before sailing, servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live among us," was the spirit as well as the law of the dauntless community. As Higginson and his companions were receding from the Land's End, he called his children and others around him to look for the last time on their native country, not as the scene of sufferings from intolerance, but as the home of their fathers, and the dwelling-place of their friends. During the voyage they "constantly served God, morning and evening, by reading and expounding a chapter in the Bible, singing and prayer." On "the sabbath they added preaching twice, and catechising;" and twice they "faithfully" kept "solemn fasts." The passage was "pious and Christian-like," for even "the ship-master and his religious company set their eight and twelve o'clock watches with singing a psalm and with prayer that was not read out of a book."

In the last days of June, the band of two hundred arrived at Salem. They found eight or ten pitiful hovels, one larger tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, as the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The old and new planters, without counting women and children, formed a body of about three hundred, of whom the larger part were "godly Christians, helped hither by Isaac Johnson and other members of the company, to be employed in their work for a while, and then to live of themselves."

To anticipate the intrusion of John Oldham, who was minded to settle himself on Boston bay, pretending a title to much land there by a grant from Robert Gorges, Endecott with all speed sent a large party, accompanied by a minister, to occupy Charlestown. On the neck of land, which was full of stately timber, with the leave of Sagamore John, the petty chief who claimed dominion over it, Graves, the surveyor, employed some of the servants of the company in building a "great house," and modelled and laid out the form of the town, with streets about the hill.

To the European world the few tenants of the huts and cabins at Salem were too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves, they were chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favorites with Heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food, and of shelter, and yet blessed as instruments selected to light in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion. They were not so much a body politic as a church in the wilderness, seeking, under a visible covenant, to have fellowship with God, as a family of adopted sons.

"The governor was moved to set apart the twentieth of July to be a solemn day of humiliation, for the choyce of a pastor and a teacher at Salem." After prayer and preaching, "the persons thought on," presenting no claim founded on their ordination in England, acknowledged a twofold calling: the inward, which is of God, who moves the heart and bestows fit gifts; the outward, which is from a company of believers joined in covenant, and allowing to every member a free voice in the election of its officers. The vote was then taken by each one's writing in a note the name of his choice. Such is the origin of the use of the ballot on this continent; in this manner Skelton was chosen pastor and Higginson teacher. Three or four of the gravest members of the church then laid their hands on Skelton with prayer, and in like manner on Higginson: so that "these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door, and not at the window;" by the act of the congregation, and not by the authority of a prelate. A day in August was appointed for the election of ruling elders and deacons. The church, like that of Plymouth, was self-constituted, on the principle of the independence of each religious community. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognise him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The motives which controlled its decisions were so deeply seated that its practices were repeated spontaneously by Puritan New England.

There were a few at Salem by whom the new system was disapproved; and in John and Samuel Browne they found able leaders. Both were members of the colonial council;

both were reputed "sincere in their affection for the good of the plantation;" they had been specially recommended to Endecott by the corporation in England; and one of them, an experienced lawyer, had been a member of the board of assistants. They refused to unite with the public assembly, and gathered a company, in which "the common prayer worship" was upheld. But should the emigrants, thus the colonists reasoned, give up the purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? Should the success of the colony be endangered by a breach of its unity, and the authority of its government overthrown by the confusion of an ever recurring conflict? They deemed the co-existence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible; anticipating invasions of their rights, they feared the adherents of the establishment as spies in the camp; and the form of religion from which they had suffered was repelled, not as a sect, but as a tyranny. "You are separatists," said the Brownes, in self-defence, "and you will shortly be Anabaptists." "We separate," answered the ministers, "not from the church of England, but from its corruptions. We came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, in our native land, where we suffered much for non-conformity; in this place of liberty we cannot, we will not, use them. Their imposition would be a sinful violation of the worship of God." The supporters of the liturgy were in their turn rebuked as separatists; their plea was reproved as sedition, their worship forbidden as a mutiny; and the Brownes were sent back to England, as men "factious and evil conditioned," who could not be suffered to remain within the limits of the grant, because they would not be conformable to its government. Thus was episcopacy professed in Massachusetts, and thus was it exiled.

The Brownes, on their arrival in England, raised rumors of scandalous and intemperate speeches uttered by the ministers in their public sermons and prayers, and of rash innovations begun and practiced in the civil and ecclesiastical government. The returning ships carried with them numerous letters from the emigrants, and a glowing description of "New England's Plantation" by Higginson which was immediately printed and most eagerly and widely sought for.

CHAPTER XIV.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE concession of the Massachusetts charter seemed to the Puritans like a summons from Heaven, inviting them to America. England, by her persecutions, proved herself weary of her inhabitants, esteeming them more vile than the earth on which they trod. Habits of expense degraded men of moderate fortune; and the schools, which should be fountains of living waters, had become corrupt. What nobler work than to plant a church without a blemish where it might spread over a continent?

But was it right, a scrupulous conscience demanded, to fly from persecutions? Yes, they answered, for persecutions might lead their posterity to abjure the truth. The certain misery of their wives and children was the most gloomy of their forebodings; but a stern sense of duty hushed the alarms of affection, and set aside all consideration of physical evils as the fears of too carnal minds. Respect for the rights of the natives offered an impediment more easily removed; much of the land from the Penobscot to Plymouth had been desolated by a fatal contagion, and the good leave of the surviving tribes might be purchased. The ill success of other plantations could not chill the rising enthusiasm; former enterprises had aimed at profit, the present object was purity of religion; the earlier settlements had been filled with a lawless multitude, it was now proposed to form a "peculiar government," and to colonize "THE BEST." Such were the "Conclusions," which were privately circulated among the Puritans of England.

At a general court, held on the twenty-eighth of July, 1629, Matthew Cradock, governor of the company, who had

engaged himself beyond all expectation in the business, following out what seems to have been the early design, proposed "the transfer of the government of the plantation to those that should inhabit there." At the offer of freedom from subordination to the company in England, several "persons of worth and quality," wealthy commoners, zealous Puritans, were confirmed in the desire of founding a new and a better commonwealth beyond the Atlantic, even though it might require the sale of their estates, and hazard the inheritance of their children. To his father, who was the most earnest of them all, the younger Winthrop, then about four-and-twenty, wrote cheeringly: "I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and dedicate myself to God and the company, with the whole endeavors both of body and mind. The Conclusions which you sent down are unanswerable; and it cannot but be a prosperous action which is so well allowed by the judgments of God's prophets, undertaken by so religious and wise worthies in Israel, and indented to God's glory in so special a service."

On the twenty-sixth of August, at Cambridge, in England, twelve men, of large fortunes and liberal culture, among whom were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall, bearing in mind that the adventure could grow only upon confidence in each other's fidelity and resolution, bound themselves in the presence of God, by the word of a Christian, that if before the end of September an order of the court should legally transfer the whole government, together with the patent, they would themselves pass the seas to inhabit and continue in New England. Two days after this covenant had been executed, the subject was again brought before the court; a serious and long-continued debate ensued, and on the twenty-ninth of August a general consent appeared, by the erection of hands, that "the government and patent should be settled in New England."

This vote, by which the commercial corporation became the germ of an independent commonwealth, was simply a decision of the question where the future meetings of the

company should be held; it was sanctioned by the best legal advice; its lawfulness was at the time not questioned by the privy council; at a later day was expressly affirmed by Sawyer, the attorney-general; and, in 1677, the chief justices Rainsford and North still described the "charter as making the adventurers a corporation upon the place." Similar patents were granted by the Long Parliament and Charles II., to be executed in Rhode Island and Connecticut; and Baltimore and Penn had an undisputed right to reside in their domains. The removal of the place of holding the courts from London to the bay of Massachusetts changed nothing in the relations of the company to the crown, and it conferred no franchise or authority on emigrants who were not members of the company; but the corporate body and their successors retained the chartered right of making their own selection of the persons whom they would admit to the freedom of the company. The conditions on which the privilege should be granted would control the political character of Massachusetts.

At a very full general court, convened on the twentieth of October for the choice of new officers out of those who were to join the plantation, John Winthrop, of Groton in Suffolk, of whom "extraordinary great commendations had been received both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one altogether well fitted and accomplished for the place of governor," was by erection of hands elected to that office for one year from that day; and with him were joined a deputy and assistants, of whom nearly all proposed to go over. The greatness of the undertaking brought a necessity for a supply of money. It was resolved that the business should be proceeded in with its first intention, which was chiefly the glory of God; and to that purpose its meetings were sanctified by the prayers and guided by the advice of Archer and Nye, two faithful ministers in London. Of the old stock of the company, two thirds had been lost; the remainder, taken at its true value, with fresh sums adventured by those that pleased, formed a new stock, which was to be managed by ten undertakers, five chosen out of adventurers remaining in England and five out of the planters. The undertakers, receiving privileges in the fur trade and in transportation, assumed all engagements and

charges, and after seven years were to divide the stock and profits; but their privileges were not asserted, and nine tenths of the capital were sunk in the expenses of the first year. There was nothing to show for the adventure but the commonwealth which it helped to found. Of ships for transporting passengers, Cradock furnished two. The large ship, the Eagle, purchased by members of the company, took the name of Arbella, from a sister of the earl of Lincoln, wife to Isaac Johnson, who was to sail in it. The corporation, which had not many more than one hundred and ten members, could not meet the continual outlays for colonization; another common stock was therefore raised from such as bore good affection to the plantation, to defray public charges, such as maintenance of ministers, transportation of poor families, building of churches and fortifications. To the various classes of contributors and emigrants, frugal grants of land promised some indemnity. In this manner, by the enterprise of the ten undertakers and other members of the company, especially of those who were ship-owners, by the contributions of Puritans in England, but mainly by the resources of the emigrants themselves, there were employed, during the season of 1630, seventeen vessels, which brought over not far from a thousand souls, besides horses, kine, goats, and all that was most necessary for planting, fishing, and ship-building.

As the hour of departure drew near, the hearts of some even of the strong began to fail. On the eighteenth of March, 1630, it became necessary at Southampton to elect three substitutes among the assistants; and, of these three, one never came over. Even after they had embarked, a court was held on board the Arbella, and Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy governor in the place of Humphrey, who stayed behind. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. In him a yielding gentleness of temper and a never failing desire for unity and harmony were secured against weakness by deep but tranquil enthusiasm. His nature was touched by the sweetest sympathies of affection for wife, children, and associates; cheerful in serving others and suffering with them, liberal without reluctance, helpful without reproaching, in him God so exercised his grace that

he discerned his own image and resemblance in his fellow-man, and cared for his neighbor like himself. He was of a sociable nature; so that "to love and be beloved was his soul's paradise," and works of mercy were the habit of his life. Parting from affluence in England, he unrepiningly went to meet impoverishment and premature age for the welfare of Massachusetts. His lenient benevolence tempered the bigotry of his companions, without impairing their resoluteness. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in his native parish, a conformist, yet wishing for "gospel purity;" in America, mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best;" disinterested, brave, and conscientious—his character marks the transition of the reformation into virtual republicanism. The sentiment of loyalty, which it was still intended to cherish, gradually yielded to the unobstructed spirit of civil freedom.

England rung from side to side with the "general rumor of this solemn enterprise." On leaving the isle of Wight, Winthrop and the chief of his fellow-passengers on board the Arbella, including the ministers, bade an affectionate farewell "to the rest of their brethren in and of the church of England." "Reverend fathers and brethren," such was their address to them, "howsoever your charitie may have met with discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or the indiscretion of some amongst us, yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice that the principals and body of our company esteem it our honor to call the church of England, from whence wee rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadnes of heart and many tears in our eyes; blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, and, while we have breath, we shall syncerely indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare.

"Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to helpe forward this worke now in hand; which, if it prosper, you shall bee the more glorious. It is a usuall exercise of your charity to recommend to the prayers of your congregations the straights of your neighbours: do the like for a church spring-

ing out of your owne bowels; pray without ceasing for us, who are a weake colony from yourselves.

"What we intreat of you that are ministers of God, that we crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the Throne of Grace. If any, through want of cleare intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to desert us in their prayers, and to express their compassion towards us.

"What goodness you shall extend to us, wee, your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labour to repay; wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when wee shall be in our poore cottages in the wildernesse, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us."

About seven hundred persons or more—most of them Puritans, inclining to the principles of the Independents; not conformists, but not separatists; many of them men of high endowments and large fortune; scholars, well versed in the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the best educated and most pious in the realm—embarked with Winthrop in eleven ships, bearing with them the charter which was to be the warrant of their liberties. The land was to be planted with a noble vine, wholly of the right seed. The principal emigrants were a community of believers, professing themselves to be fellow-members of Christ; not a school of philosophers, proclaiming universal toleration and inviting associates without regard to creed. They desired to be bound together in a most intimate and equal intercourse, for one and the same great end. They knew that they would be as a city set upon a hill, and that the eyes of all people were upon them. Reverence for their faith led them to pass over the vast seas to the good land of which they had purchased the exclusive possession, with a charter of which they had acquired the entire control, for the sake of reducing to practice the system of religion and the forms of civil liberty which they cherished more than life itself. They constituted a corporation to which

they themselves might establish the terms of admission. They kept firmly in their own hands the key to their asylum, and were resolved on closing its doors against the enemies of its unity, its safety, and its peace.

"The worke wee have in hand," these are Winthrop's words on board the Arbella during the passage, "is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overruling Providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and consorteshipp under a due forme of government both civill and ecclesiastical. For this wee are entered into covenant with God; for this wee must be knitt together as one man, allways having before our eyes our commission as members of the same body. Soe shall wee keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his owne people; wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness, and truthe, than formerly wee have been acquainted with; hee shall make us a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it likely that of New England.'"

After sixty-one days at sea, the Arbella came in sight of Mount Desert; on the tenth of June, the White Hills were descried afar off; near the isle of Shoals and Cape Ann the sea was enlivened by the shallops of fishermen; and on the twelfth, as the ship came to anchor outside of Salem harbor, it was visited by William Peirce, of the Lyon, whose frequent voyages had given him experience as a pilot on the coast. Winthrop and his companions came full of hope; they found the colony in an "unexpected condition" of distress. Above eighty had died the winter before. Higginson himself was wasting under a hectic fever; many others were weak and sick; all the corn and bread among them was hardly a fit supply for a fortnight. The survivors of one hundred and eighty servants, who had been sent over in the two years before at a great expense, instead of having prepared a welcome, thronged to the new-comers to be fed; and were set free from all engagements, for their labor, urgent as was the demand for it, was worth less than the cost of their support. Famine threatened to seize the emigrants as they stepped on shore; and it

soon appeared necessary for them, even at a ruinous expense, to send the Lyon to Bristol for food.

To seek out a place for their plantation, since Salem pleased them not, Winthrop, on the seventeenth of June, sailed into Boston harbor. The west country men, who, before leaving England, had organized their church with Maverick and Warham for ministers, and who in a few years were to take part in calling into being the commonwealth of Connecticut, were found at Nantasket, where they had landed just before the end of May. Winthrop ascended the Mystic a few miles, and on the nineteenth took back to Salem a favorable report of the land on its banks. Dudley and others, who followed, preferred the country on the Charles river at Watertown. By common consent, early in the next month the removal was made, with much cost and labor, from Salem to Charlestown. But, while drooping with toil and sorrow, fevers consequent on the long voyage, and the want of proper food and shelter, twelve ships having arrived, the colonists kept the eighth of July as a day of thanksgiving. The emigrants had intended to dwell together, but in their distress they planted where each was inclined. A few remained at Salem; others halted at the Saugus, and founded Lynn. The governor was for the time at Charlestown, where the poor "lay up and down in tents and booths round the hill." On the other side of the river the little peninsula, scarce two miles long by one broad, marked by three hills, and blessed with sweet and pleasant springs, safe pastures, and land that promised "rich cornfields and fruitful gardens," attracted, among others, William Coddington, of Boston in England, who, in friendly relations with William Blackstone, built the first good house there, before it took the name which was to grow famous throughout the world. Some planted on the Mystic, in what is now Malden. Others, with Sir Richard Saltonstall and George Phillips, "a godly minister specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place," made their abode at Watertown; Pynchon and a few began Roxbury; Ludlow and Rossiter, two of the assistants, with the men from the west of England, after wavering in their choice, took possession of Dorchester Neck, now South Boston. The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but it

was no time for crimination or debate, and those who had health made haste to build. Winthrop himself, "givinge good example to all the planters, wore plaine apparell, drank ordinarily water, and, when he was not conversant about matters of justice, put his hand to labor with his servants."

On Friday, the thirtieth of July, a fast was held at Charlestown; and, after prayers and preaching, Winthrop, Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and Wilson united themselves by covenant into one "congregation," as a part of the visible church militant. On the next Lord's Day others were received; and the members of this body could alone partake of the Lord's Supper, or present their children for baptism. They were all brothers and equals; they revered, each in himself, the dignity of God's image, and nursed a generous reverence for one another; bound to a healing superintendence over each other's lives, they exercised no discipline to remove evil out of the inmost soul, except the censure of the assembly of the faithful, whom it would have been held grievous to offend. This church, the seminal centre of the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts, was gathered while Higginson was yet alive; on the sixth of August he gave up the ghost with joy, for the future greatness of New England and the coming glories of its many churches floated in cheerful visions before his eyes. When, on the twenty-third of August, the first court of assistants on this side the water was held at Charlestown, how the ministers should be maintained took precedence of all other business; and it was ordered that houses should be built for them, and support provided at the common charge. Four days later the men "of the congregation" kept a fast, and, after their own free choice of John Wilson for their pastor, they themselves set him apart to his office by the imposition of hands, yet without his renouncing his ministry received in England. In like manner the ruling elder and deacons were chosen and installed. Thus was constituted the body which, crossing the Charles river, became known as the First Church of Boston. It embodied the three great principles of Congregationalism; a right faith attended by a true religious experience as the requisite qualifications for membership; the equality of all believers, including the officers of the church; the equality of

the several churches, free from the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical court or bishop, free from the jurisdiction of one church over another, free from the collective authority of them all.

The civil government was exercised with mildness and impartiality, yet with determined vigor. Justices of the peace were commissioned with the powers of those in England. On the seventh of September, names were given to Dorchester, Watertown, and Boston, which thus began their career as towns under sanction of law. Quotas were settled and money levied. The interloper who dared to "confront" the public authority was sent to England, or enjoined to depart out of the limits of the patent.

As the year for which Winthrop and his assistants had been chosen was coming to an end, on the nineteenth of October, 1630, a general court, the first in America, was held at Boston. Of members of the company, less than twenty had come over. One hundred and eight inhabitants, some of whom were old planters, were now, at their desire, admitted to be freemen. The former officers of government were continued; as a rule for the future, "it was propounded to the people, and assented unto by the erection of hands, that the freemen should have power to choose assistants, when any were to be chosen, the assistants to choose from among themselves the governor and his deputy." The rule implied a purpose to retain continuously in the board any person once elected magistrate, and revealed a natural anxiety respecting the effect of the large creation of freemen which had just been made, and by which the old members of the company had abdicated their controlling power in the court; but, as it was in conflict with the charter, it could have no permanence.

During these events, the emigrants, miserably lodged, beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes;" in a country abounding in secret fountains, they pined for the want of good water. Many of them had been accustomed to plenty and ease, the refinements and the conveniences of luxury. Woman was there to struggle against unforeseen hardships, unimagined sorrows; the men, who defied trials for themselves, were miserable at beholding those whom they cherished dismayed by the horrors which encom-

passed them. The virtues of the lady Arbella Johnson could not break through the gloom; she had been ill before her arrival, and grief hurried her to the grave. Her husband, a wise and holy man, in life "the greatest furtherer of the plantation," and by his bequests a large benefactor of the infant state, sank under disease and afflictions; but "he died willingly and in sweet peace," making a "most godly end." Winthrop lost a son, who left a widow and children in England. A hundred or more, some of them of the board of assistants, men who had been trusted as the inseparable companions of the common misery or the common success, disheartened by the scenes of woe, and dreading famine and death, deserted Massachusetts, and sailed for England, while Winthrop remained, "parent-like, to distribute his goods to brethren and neighbors." Before December, two hundred, at the least, had died. Yet, as the brightest lightnings are kindled in the darkest clouds, the general distress did but augment the piety and confirm the fortitude of the colonists. Their earnestness was softened by the mildest sympathy with one another, while trust in Providence kept guard against despair. Not a trace of repining appears in their records; the congregations always assembled at the stated times, whether in the open fields or under the shade of an ancient oak; in the midst of want, they abounded in hope; in the solitudes of the wilderness, they believed themselves watched over by an omnipresent Father. Honor is due not less to those who perished than to those who survived; to the martyrs, the hour of death was an hour of triumph. For that placid resignation, which diffuses grace round the bed of sickness, and makes death too serene for sorrow and too beautiful for fear, no one was more remarkable than the daughter of Thomas Sharpe, whose youth and sex and unequalled virtues won the eulogies of the austere Dudley. Even children caught the spirit of the place, and, in tranquil faith, went to the grave full of immortality. The survivors bore all things meekly, "remembering the end of their coming hither." "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ," wrote Winthrop to his wife, whom pregnancy had detained in England, "and is not this enough? I thank God I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my

coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind."

The supply of bread was nearly exhausted, when, on the fifth of February, 1631, after a long and stormy passage, the timely arrival of the Lyon from Bristol, laden with provisions, caused public thanksgiving through all the plantations. Yet the ship brought but twenty passengers, and quenched all hope of immediate accessions. In 1631, ninety only came over, fewer than had gone back the preceding year; in 1632, no more than two hundred and fifty arrived. Men waited to learn the success of the early adventurers. Those who had deserted excused their cowardice by defaming the country; and, moreover, ill-willers to New England were already railing against its people as separatists from the established church and traitors to the king.

The colony, now counting not many more than one thousand souls, while it developed its principles with unflinching courage, desired to avoid giving scandal to the civil and ecclesiastical government in England. Wilson was on the point of returning to bring over his wife; his church stood in special need of a teacher in his absence, and a young minister, "lovely in his carriage," "godly and zealous, having precious gifts," opportunely arrived in the Lyon. It was Roger Williams. "From his childhood, the Father of lights and mercies touched his soul with a love to himself, to his only-begotten Son, the true Lord Jesus, and his holy scriptures." In the forming period of his life he had been employed by Sir Edward Coke, and his natural inclination to study and activity was spurred on by the instruction and encouragement of the statesman, who was then, "in his intrepid and patriotic old age, the strenuous asserter of liberty on the principles of ancient laws," and, by his writings, speeches, and example, lighted the zealous enthusiast on his way. Through the affection of the great lawyer, who called him endearingly his son, "the youth," in whom all saw good hope, was sent to the Charter House in 1621, and passed with honor from that school to Pembroke College, in Cambridge, where he took a degree; but his clear mind went far beyond his patron in his persuasions against bishops, ceremonies, and the national church.

Pursued by Laud out of his native land, he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and had arrived at its only effectual remedy, the sanctity of conscience. In soul matters, he would have no weapons but soul weapons. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate inward freedom. The principle contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute-book the felony of non-conformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the force of the government to be employed against the dissenters' meeting-house, the Jewish synagogue, or the Roman cathedral. In the unwavering assertion of his views, he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and, in his extreme old age, it was still the desire of his heart. The doctrine was a logical consequence of either of the two great distinguishing principles of the reformation, as well of justification by faith alone as of the equality of all believers; and it was sure to be one day accepted by the whole Protestant world. But it placed the emigrant in direct opposition to the system of the founders of Massachusetts, who were bent on making the state a united body of believers.

On landing in Boston, Roger Williams found himself unable to join with its church members. He had separated from the establishment in England, which wronged conscience by disregarding its scruples; they were "an unseparated people," who refused to renounce communion with their persecutors; he would not suffer the magistrate to assume jurisdiction over the soul by punishing what was no more than a breach of the first table, an error of conscience or belief; they were willing to put the whole decalogue under the guardianship of the civil authority. The thought of employing him as a minister was therefore abandoned, and the church of Boston was, in Wilson's absence, commended to "the exercise of prophecy."

The death of Higginson had left Salem in want of a teacher, and in April it called Williams to that office. Winthrop and the assistants "marvelled" at the precipitate choice; and, by a letter to Endecott, they desired the church to forbear. The warning was heeded, and Roger Williams withdrew to Plymouth.

The government was still more careful to protect the privileges of the colony from "episcopal and malignant practices," against which they had been cautioned from England. For that purpose, at the general court convened in May after "the corn was set," an oath of fidelity was offered to the freemen, binding them "to be obedient and conformable to the laws and constitutions of this commonwealth, to advance its peace, and not to suffer any attempt at making any change or alteration of the government contrary to its laws." One hundred and eighteen of "the commonalty" took this oath; the few who refused were never "betrusted with any public charge or command." The old officers were again continued in office without change, but "the commons" asserted their right of annually adding or removing members from the bench of magistrates. And a law of still greater moment, pregnant with evil and with good, at the same time narrowed the elective franchise: "To the end this body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Thus the polity became a theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the "saints by calling," whose names an immutable decree had registered from eternity as the objects of divine love, whose election had been visibly manifested by their conscious experience of religion in the heart, whose union was confirmed by the most solemn compact formed with Heaven and one another around the memorials of a crucified Redeemer, were, by the fundamental law of the colony, constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded; not of wealth, but of those who had been ransomed at too high a price to be ruled by polluting passions, and had received the seal of divinity in proof of their fitness to do

"the noblest and godliest deeds." Other states have confined political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts, refusing any share of civil power to the clergy, established the reign of the visible church, a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The dangers apprehended from England seemed to require a union consecrated by the holiest rites. The public mind of the colony was in other respects ripening for democratic liberty. It could not rest satisfied with leaving the assistants in possession of all authority, and of an almost independent existence; and the magistrates, with the exception of the passionate Ludlow, were willing to yield. It was therefore agreed, at the next general court, that the governor and assistants should be annually chosen. The people, satisfied with the recognition of their right, re-elected their former magistrates with silence and modesty. The germ of a representative government was already visible; each town was ordered to choose two men, to appear at the next court of assistants, and concert a plan for a public treasury. The measure had become necessary, for a levy, made by the assistants alone, had awakened alarm and opposition.

While a happy destiny was thus preparing for Massachusetts a representative government, relations with the natives were extended. In April, 1631, there came from the banks of the Connecticut the sagamore of the Mohegans, to extol the fertility of his country, and solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the Pequods; in May, the nearer Nipmucks invoked the aid of the emigrants against the tyranny of the Mohawks; and in July, the son of the aged Canonicus exchanged presents with the governor.

In August, 1632, Miantonomoh himself, the great warrior of the Narragansetts, the youthful colleague of Canonicus, became a guest at the board of Winthrop, and was present with the congregation at a sermon from Wilson.

To perfect friendship with the pilgrims, the governor of Massachusetts, with Wilson, pastor of Boston, near the end of October, 1632, repaired to Plymouth. From the south shore of Boston harbor it was a day's journey, for they travelled on foot. In honor of the great event, Bradford and Brewster,

the governor and elder of the old colony, came forth to meet them and conduct them to the town, where they were kindly entertained and feasted. "On the Lord's Day they did partake of the sacrament;" in the afternoon, a question was propounded for discussion; the pastor spoke briefly; the teacher prophesied; the governor of Plymouth, the elder, and others of the congregation took part in the conference, which, by express desire, was closed by the guests from Boston. Thus was fellowship confirmed with Plymouth. From the Chesapeake a rich freight of corn had been received, and trade was begun with the Dutch at Hudson river.

These better auspices and the invitations of Winthrop won new emigrants from Europe. In 1633, during the long summer voyage of the two hundred passengers who freighted the Griffin, three sermons a day beguiled their weariness. Among them was Haynes, a man of very large estate, and larger affections; of a "heavenly" mind and a spotless life; of rare sagacity and accurate but unassuming judgment; by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, ever conciliating peace; an able legislator; dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct. Then also came the most revered spiritual teachers of two commonwealths: the acute and subtile John Cotton, the son of a Puritan lawyer; eminent at Cambridge as a scholar; quick in the nice perception of distinctions, and pliant in dialectics; in manner persuasive rather than commanding; skilled in the fathers and the schoolmen, but finding all their wisdom compactly stored in Calvin; deeply devout by nature as well as habit from childhood; hating heresy and still precipitately eager to prevent evil actions by suppressing ill opinions, yet verging toward a progress in truth and in religious freedom; an avowed enemy to democracy, which he feared as the blind despotism of animal instincts in the multitude, yet opposing hereditary power in all its forms; desiring a government of moral opinion, according to the laws of universal equity, and claiming "the ultimate resolution for the whole body of the people;" and Thomas Hooker, of vast endowments, a strong will, and an energetic mind; ingenuous in his temper, and open in his professions; trained to benevolence by the discipline of affliction;

versed in tolerance by his refuge in Holland; choleric, yet gentle in his affections; firm in his faith, yet readily yielding to the power of reason; the peer of the reformers without their harshness; the devoted apostle to the humble and the poor, severe toward the proud, mild in his soothings of a wounded spirit, glowing with the raptures of devotion, and kindling with the messages of redeeming love; his eye, voice, gesture, and whole frame animate with the living vigor of heart-felt religion; public-spirited and lavishly charitable; and, "though persecutions and banishments had awaited him as one wave follows another," ever serenely blessed with "a glorious peace of soul;" fixed in his trust in Providence, and in his adhesion to that cause of advancing civilization, which he cherished always, even while it remained to him a mystery. This is he whom, for his abilities and services, his contemporaries placed "in the first rank" of men; praising him as "the one rich pearl, with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast." The people to whom Hooker ministered had preceded him; on the fourth of September, as he landed, they crowded about him with their welcome. With open arms he embraced them, and answered: "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."

Thus recruited, the little band in Massachusetts grew more jealous of its liberties. "The prophets in exile see the true forms of the house." By a common impulse, the freemen of the towns, in 1634, chose deputies to consider in advance the duties of the general court. The charter plainly gave legislative power to the whole body of the freemen; if it allowed representatives, thought Winthrop, it was only by inference; and, as the whole people could not always assemble, the chief power, it was argued, lay necessarily with the assistants.

Far different was the reasoning of the people. To check the democratic tendency, Cotton, on the election day, in May, preached to the assembled freemen against rotation in office. The right of an honest magistrate to his place was like that of a proprietor to his freehold. But the electors, now between three and four hundred in number, were bent on exercising "their absolute power," and, reversing the recommendation of the pulpit, chose a new governor and deputy. The mode of

taking the votes was at the same time reformed; and, instead of the erection of hands, the ballot-box was introduced. "The people established a reformation of such things as they judged to be amiss in the government."

It was further decreed that the whole body of the freemen should be convened only for the election of the magistrates; to these, with deputies to be chosen by the several towns, the powers of legislation and appointment were henceforward intrusted. The trading corporation became a representative democracy.

The law against arbitrary taxation followed. None but the immediate representatives of the people might dispose of lands or raise money. Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia, like deep calling unto deep. The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; "the freemen of every town on the bay were busily inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the principal of universal suffrage, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice. "Elections cannot be safe there long," said the lawyer Lechford. The same prediction has been made these two hundred and fifty years. The public mind, ever in perpetual agitation, is still easily shaken, even by slight and transient impulses; but, after all vibrations, it follows the laws of the moral world, and safely recovers its balance.

To limit the discretion of the executive, of which the people were persistently jealous, they next demanded a written constitution; and, in May, 1635, a commission was appointed "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights, on which the ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment. A year having passed without a report, the making of a draft of laws was intrusted to a larger committee, of which Cotton was a member. His colleagues remained inactive, but Cotton compiled in an exact method "all the judicial laws from God by Moses, so far as they were of moral, that is, of perpetual and universal, equity;" and he urged the establishment of a "theocraty, God's government over God's people." But his code

was never adopted. In March, 1638, the several towns were ordered before the coming June to deliver in writing to the governor the heads of the laws which they held to be necessary and fundamental; and, from these materials and their own wisdom, a numerous body, of whom Nathaniel Ward was one, were instructed to perfect the work.

The relative powers of the assistants and the deputies remained for nearly ten years—from 1634 to 1644—the subject of discussion and contest. Both were elected by the people; the former by the whole colony, the latter by the several towns. The two bodies sat together in convention for the transaction of business; but, when their joint decision displeased the assistants, the latter claimed and exercised the further right of a separate negative vote on their joint proceedings. The popular branch grew impatient, and desired to overthrow the veto power; yet the authority of the patricians was for the time maintained, sometimes by wise delay, sometimes by "a judicious sermon."

The controversy had required the arbitrament of the elders, for the rock on which the state rested was religion; a common faith had gathered, and still bound the people together. They were exclusive, for they had come to the outside of the world for the privilege of living by themselves. Fugitives from persecution, they shrank from contradiction as from the approach of peril. And why should they open their asylum to their oppressors? Religious union was made the bulwark of the exiles against expected attacks from the hierarchy of England. The wide continent of America invited colonization; they claimed their own narrow domains for "the brethren." Their religion was their life; they welcomed none but its adherents; they could not tolerate the scoffer, the infidel, or the dissenter; and the whole people met together in their congregations. Such was the system, cherished as the stronghold of their freedom and their happiness. "The order of the churches and the commonwealth," wrote Cotton to friends in Holland, "is now so settled in New England by common consent that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth wherein dwells righteousness."

CHAPTER XV.

THE PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

While the state was thus connecting by the closest bonds the energy of its faith with its form of government, Roger Williams, after remaining two years or a little more in Plymouth, accepted a second invitation to Salem. The ministers in the bay and of Lynn used to meet once a fortnight at each other's houses, to debate some question of moment; at this, in November, 1633, Skelton and Williams took some exception, for fear the custom might grow into a presbytery or a superintendency, to the prejudice of the church's liberties; but such a purpose was disclaimed, and all were clear that no church or person can have power over another church. Not long afterward, in January, 1634, complaints were made against Williams for a paper which he had written at Plymouth, to prove that a grant of land in New England from an English king could not be perfect except the grantees "compounded with the natives." The opinion sounded like treason against the charter of the colony; Williams was willing that the offensive manuscript should be burned; and so explained its purport that the court, applauding his temper, declared "the matters not so evil as at first they seemed."

Yet his generosity and forbearance did not allay a jealousy of his radical opposition to the established system of theocracy, which he condemned, because it plucked up the roots of civil society and brought all the strifes of the state into the garden and paradise of the church. The government avoided an explicit rupture with the church of England; Williams would hold no communion with it on account of its intolerance; "for," said he, "the doctrine of persecution for cause of

conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ." The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church. To compel men to unite with those of a different creed he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights; to drag to public worship the irreligious and the unwilling seemed only like requiring hypocrisy. "An unbelieving soul is dead in sin," such was his argument; and to force the indifferent from one worship to another "was like shifting a dead man into several changes of apparel." "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship, against his own consent." "What!" exclaimed his antagonists, amazed at his tenets; "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," replied he, "from them that hire him."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church.

It was objected to him that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corrupting influences, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams protested, are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred, since conscience belongs to the individual, and is not the property of the body politic; and with admirable dialectics, clothing the great truth in its boldest and most general forms, he asserted that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy," "that his power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men." With corresponding distinctness,

he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression," to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view, "as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."

The same magistrates who punished Eliot, the apostle of the Indian race, for censuring their measures, could not brook the independence of Williams; and the circumstances of the times seemed to them to justify their apprehensions. An intense jealousy was excited in England against Massachusetts; "members of the general court received intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practices against the country;" and the magistrates on the one hand were careful to avoid all unnecessary offence to the English government, on the other were consolidating their own institutions, and even preparing for resistance. It was in this view that the freeman's oath was appointed, by which every freeman was obliged to pledge his allegiance, not to King Charles, but to Massachusetts. There was room for scruples on the subject; and an English lawyer would have questioned the legality of the measure. The liberty of conscience, for which Williams contended, denied the right of a compulsory imposition of an oath: when, in March, 1635, he was summoned before the court, he could not renounce his belief; and his influence was such "that the government was forced to desist from that proceeding." To the magistrates he seemed the ally of a civil faction; to himself he appeared only to make a frank avowal of truth. Before the tribunals, he spoke with the distinctness of clear and settled convictions. He was fond of discussion; and to the end of his life was always ready for controversy, as the means "to bolt out the truth to the bran."

The court at Boston remained as yet undecided; the church of Salem—those who were best acquainted with Williams—taking no notice of the recent investigations, elected him their teacher. Immediately the ministers met together, and declared any one worthy of banishment who should obstinately assert that "the civil magistrate might not intermed-

dle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy;" the magistrates delayed action, only that a committee of divines might have time to repair to Salem and deal with Williams and with the church in a church way. Meantime, the people of Salem were blamed for their choice of a religious guide; and a tract of land, to which they had a claim, was withheld from them as a punishment.

To the ministers Williams frankly but temperately explained his doctrines; and he was armed at all points for their defence. In conjunction with the church, he wrote "letters unto all the churches whereof any of the magistrates were members, that they might admonish the magistrates of their injustice."

At the next general court, Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology for the letter should be made. The town submitted; so did the church. Williams was left alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. "My own voluntary withdrawing from all these churches, resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them, I confess it was mine own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus, sounding forth in me the blast, which shall in his own holy season cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men." Summoned in October to appear before the representatives of the state, he "maintained the rocky strength" of his convictions, and held himself "ready to be bound and banished, and even to die in New England," rather than renounce them.

The members of the general court of 1635 pronounced against him the sentence of exile, yet not by a very large majority. Some, who consented to his banishment, would never have yielded but for the persuasions of Cotton; and the judgment was vindicated, not as a restraint on freedom of conscience, but because the application of the new doctrine to the construction of the patent, to the discipline of the churches, and to the "oaths for making tryall of the fidelity of the people," seemed about "to subvert the fundamental state and government of the country."

Winter was at hand; Williams obtained permission to remain till spring, intending then to begin a new plantation. But the affections of the people of Salem revived; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; "many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness;" his opinions were contagious; the infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. In January, 1636, a warrant was accordingly sent to him to come to Boston and embark. For the first time he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. "For fourteen weeks he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree. But he was not without friends. The respect for the rights of others, which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience, had made him the champion of the Indians. He had learned their language during his residence at Plymouth, had often been the guest of the neighboring sachems; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massassoit; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates, "fed me in the wilderness." And, in requital for their hospitality, he was ever through his long life their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, or weariness, or impatience at their idolatry; the pacificator of their own feuds; the guardian of their rights, whenever Europeans attempted an invasion of their soil.

He first began to build and plant at Seekonk, which was within the patent of Plymouth. "That ever-honored Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

In June, the law-giver of Rhode Island, with five companions, embarked on the stream; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring of water near which they landed. To express unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, he called the place PROVIDENCE. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In his new abode, "My time," wrote Williams of himself, "was not spent altogether in spiritual labors; but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." Within two years others fled to his asylum. The land which he occupied was within the territory of the Narragansetts. In March, 1638, an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonomoh made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain; but he "always stood for liberty and equality, both in land and government." The soil became his "own as truly as any man's coat upon his back;" and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all."

So long as the number of inhabitants was small, public affairs were transacted by a monthly town meeting. A commonwealth was built up where the will of the greater number of householders or masters of families, and such others as they should admit into their town fellowship, should govern the state; yet "only in civil things;" God alone was respected as the Ruler of conscience.

At a time when Germany was desolated by the implacable wars of religion; when even Holland could not pacify vengeful sects; when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry; when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance; almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary; and while Descartes was constructing modern philosophy on the method of free reflection—Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty, and made it the corner-stone of a political con-

stitution. It became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions, in characters so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and can never be erased without the total destruction of the work. The principles which he first sustained amid the bickerings of a colonial parish, next asserted in the general court of Massachusetts, and then introduced into the wilds on Narragansett bay, he found occasion, in 1644, to publish in England, and to defend as the basis of the religious freedom of mankind; so that, borrrowing the language employed by his antagonist in derision, we may compare him to the lark, the pleasant bird of the peaceful summer, that, "affecting to soar aloft, springs upward from the ground, takes his rise from pale to tree," and at last utters his clear carols through the skies of morning. He was the first person in modern Christendom to establish civil government on the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law; and in its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor. For Taylor limited his toleration to a few Christian sects; the wisdom of Williams compassed mankind. Taylor favored partial reform, commended lenity, argued for forbearance, and entered a special plea in behalf of each tolerable sect; Williams would permit persecution of no opinion, of no religion, leaving heresy unharmed by law, and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes. Taylor clung to the necessity of positive regulations enforcing religion and eradicating error, like the poets, who first declare their hero to be invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armor; Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light, believing that, if in the ancient feud between Truth and Error the employment of force could be entirely abrogated, Truth would have much the best of the bargain. High honors are justly awarded to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge, but a moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery be of more direct benefit to society than that which is to establish in the world the most free activity of reason and a perpetual religious peace. Had the territory of Rhode

Island been large, the world would at once have been filled with wonder and admiration at its history. The excellency of the principles on which it rested its earliest institutions is not diminished by the narrowness of the land in which they were for the first time tested. Let, then, the name of Roger Williams be preserved in universal history as one who advanced moral and political science, and made himself a benefactor of his race.

The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct toward those who had driven him out of their society. He says of them truly: "I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." In his writings he inveighs against the spirit of intolerance, and never against his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts. We shall presently behold him requite their severity by exposing his life at their request and for their benefit. It is not strange, then, if "many hearts were touched with relentings." The half-wise Cotton Mather concedes that many judicious persons confessed him to have had the root of the matter in him; and the immediate witnesses of his actions declared him, from "the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly minded soul."

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, RHODE ISLAND, AND CONNECTICUT.

Rhode Island was the offspring of Massachusetts; but the loss of a few inhabitants was not sensibly felt in the parent colony. When the first difficulties of encountering the wilderness had been surmounted, and an apprehension had arisen of evil days that were to befall England, the stream of emigration flowed with a full current to Massachusetts; "Godly people there began to apprehend a special hand of Providence in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." The new settlers were so many that there was no room for them all in the earlier places of abode; and Simon Willard, a trader, joining with Peter Bulkeley, a minister from St. John's College in Cambridge, a man of wealth, benevolence, and great learning, became chief instruments in extending the frontier. Under their guidance, at the fall of the leaf in 1635, a band of twelve families, toiling through thickets of ragged bushes, and clambering over crossed trees, made their way along Indian paths to the green meadows of Concord. A tract of land six miles square was purchased for the planters of the squaw sachem and a chief to whom, according to Indian laws of property, it belonged. The suffering settlers burrowed for their first shelter under a hillside. The cattle sickened on the wild fodder; sheep and swine were destroyed by wolves; there was no flesh but game. The long rains poured through the insufficient roofs of their smoky cottages, and troubled even the time for sleep. Yet the men labored willingly, for they had their wives and little ones about them. The forest rung with their psalms;

and "the poorest people of God in the whole world," unable "to excel in number, strength, or riches, resolved to strive to excel in grace and in holiness." That New England village will one day engage the attention of the world.

Meantime, the fame of the liberties of Massachusetts extended widely. Among those who came in 1635 was the fiery Hugh Peter, who had been pastor of a church of English exiles in Rotterdam, a republican of energy and eloquence, not always tempering enterprise with judgment. At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, "for conscience' sake." "He liked not the discipline of the church of England, of which none of the ministers would give him the sacrament standing." "Neither persuasions of the bishops nor authority of his parents prevailed with him;" and, from "obedience of the gospel," he cheerfully "forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New England."

The freemen of Massachusetts, pleased that a young man of his rank and ability agreed with them in belief and shared their exile, in 1636, elected him their governor. The choice was unwise, for neither age nor experience entitled him to the distinction. He came but as a sojourner, and was not imbued with the genius of the place; his clear mind, fresh from the public business of England, saw distinctly what the colonists did not wish to see—the wide difference between their practice under their charter and the meaning of that instrument on the principles of English jurisprudence.

At first, the arrival of Vane seemed a pledge for the emigration of men of the highest rank. Several English peers, especially Lord Say and Seal, a Presbyterian, a friend to the Puritans, yet with but dim perceptions of the true nature of civil liberty, and Lord Brooke, a man of charity and meekness, an early friend to tolerance, had begun to negotiate for such changes as would offer them inducements for removing to America. They demanded a division of the general court into two branches, that of assistants and of representatives—a change which, from domestic reasons, was ultimately adopted; but they further required an acknowledgment of their own hereditary right to a seat in the upper house. The fathers of

Massachusetts promised them the honors of magistracy, and began to make appointments for life; but, as for the establishment of hereditary dignity, they answered by the hand of Cotton: "Where God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But, if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honor, if we should call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority." The people, moreover, were uneasy at any permanent concession of office; Saltonstall, "that much-honored and upright-hearted servant of Christ," loudly reproved "the sinful innovation," and advocated its reform; nor would the freemen be quieted till, in 1639, it was made a law that those who were appointed magistrates for life should yet not be magistrates except in those years in which they should be regularly chosen at the annual election.

The institutions of Massachusetts were likewise in jeopardy from religious divisions. In Boston and its environs, the most profound questions relating to human existence and the laws of the moral world were discussed with passionate zeal; the Holy Spirit was claimed as the inward companion of man; while many persons, in their zeal to distinguish between abstract truth and the forms under which truth is conveyed, between unchanging principles and changing institutions, were in perpetual danger of making shipwreck of all religious faith.

Amid the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government and their adherents; they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by an exemplary life and the favor of the

clergy. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions. "The cracks and flaws in the new building of the reformation," thought they, "portend a fall;" they desired patriotism, union, and a common heart; they were earnest to confirm and build up the state, the child of their cares and their sorrows.

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. Their pride consisted in following the principles of the reformation with logical precision to all their consequences. Their eyes were not primarily directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to articles of religion; and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them, the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors" who had not imbibed the true principle of Christian reform; the magistrates were "priest-ridden" under a covenant of works; and they applied to the influence of the Puritan ministers the principle which Luther and Calvin had employed against the observances and pretensions of the Roman church. Standing on the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion; and by asserting that the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the Spirit is superior "to the ministry of the word," they sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

The founder of this party was Anne Hutchinson, a woman of such admirable understanding "and profitable and sober carriage" that her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and ability. She was encouraged by John Wheelwright, a silenced minister, who had married her husband's sister, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston approved her rebellion against the clergy. Men of learning, members of the magistracy and of the general court, accepted her opinions. The public mind seemed hastening toward an insurrection against spiritual authority; and she was denounced as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people toward the ministers," as being "like Roger Williams, or worse."

Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate, clustered together in defence of their influence, and in opposition to Vane; and Wheelwright, who, in a sermon on a fast day appointed in March, 1637, for the reconciliation of differences, maintained that "those under a covenant of grace must prepare for battle and come out and fight with spiritual weapons against pagans, and anti-Christians, and those that runne under a covenant of works," in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition. At the ensuing choice of magistrates, the religious divisions controlled the elections. Some of the friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England. The contest appeared, therefore, to the people, not as the struggle for intellectual freedom against the authority of the clergy, but for the liberties of Massachusetts against the interference of the English government. In the midst of such high excitement that even Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered power. But the dispute infused its spirit into everything; it interfered with the levy of troops for the Pequod war; it influenced the respect shown to the magistrates; the distribution of town-lots; the assessment of rates; and in May the continued existence of the two opposing parties was held to be inconsistent with the general welfare. To prevent the increase of a faction esteemed so dangerous, it was enacted by the party in power that none should be received within the jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. The dangers which were simultaneously menaced from the Episcopal party in the mother country gave to the measure an air of magnanimous defiance; it was almost a proclamation of independence. As an act of intolerance, it found in Vane an inflexible opponent; and, using the language of the times, he left a memorial of his dissent. "Scribes and Pharisees, and such as are confirmed in any way of error"—these are the remarkable words of the man, who soon embarked for England, where he pleaded in parliament for the liberties of Catholics and dissenters—"all such are not to be denyed cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren."

The friends of Wheelwright could not brook his censure; but, in justifying their remonstrances, they employed the language of fanaticism. "A new rule of practice by immediate revelations" was to be the guide of their conduct; not that they expected a revelation "in the way of a miracle;" such an idea Anne Hutchinson rejected "as a delusion;" they only slighted the censures of the ministers and the court, and avowed their determination to follow the free thought of their own minds. But individual conscience is often the dupe of interest, and often but a specious name for self-will. The government feared, or pretended to fear, a disturbance of the public peace. A synod of the ministers of New England was therefore assembled, to settle the true faith. Numerous opinions were so stated that they could be harmoniously condemned; and vagueness of language, so often the parent of furious controversy, performed the office of a peace-maker. After Vane had returned to England, it was hardly possible to find any grounds of difference between the flexible Cotton and his equally orthodox opponents. The triumph of the clergy being complete, the civil magistrates proceeded to pass sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens; and their adherents, who, it was feared, "might, upon some revelation, make a sudden insurrection," and who were ready to seek protection by an appeal from the authority of the colonial government, were required to deliver up their arms.

The principles of Anne Hutchinson are best seen in the institutions which were founded by her associates. Wheelwright and his friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua; and, at the head of tide-water on that stream, they founded the town of Exeter, one more little republic in the wilderness, organized on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.

A larger number, led by John Clark and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island or near Delaware bay. But Roger Williams persuaded them to plant in his vicinity. In March, 1638, a social compact, signed after the precedent of New Plymouth, founded

their government upon the universal consent of the inhabitants; the forms of administration were borrowed from the Jews. Coddington, who had been one of the magistrates in Massachusetts, and had always testified against their persecuting spirit, was elected judge in the new Israel. Before the month was at an end, the influence of Roger Williams and the name of Henry Vane prevailed with Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansetts, to make them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. Under this grant, they clustered round the cove on the north-east part of the island; and, as they grew rapidly in numbers, in the spring of 1639, a part of them removed to Newport. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty; philosophy itself could not have placed it on a broader basis. In March, 1641, it was ordered by the whole body of freemen, and "unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our prince, is a DEMOCRACIE, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man." "It was further ordered that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine;" the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto AMOR VINCET OMNIA: Love shall conquer all things." A patent from England was necessary for their security; and in September they obtained it through the now powerful Henry Vane.

Of these institutions Anne Hutchinson did not long enjoy the protection. Recovering from dejectedness, she gloried in her sufferings, as her greatest happiness; travelled from Massachusetts to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island. Young men from other colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft." One of her sons and Col-

lins, her son-in-law, ventured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. Severe imprisonment for many months was the punishment for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe refuge; and the family removed beyond New Haven into the territory of the Dutch. There Kieft, the violent governor, provoked an insurrection among the Indians; in 1643, the house of Anne Hutchinson, then a widow, was attacked and set on fire; herself, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the savages or by the flames. The river near which stood her house is to this day called by her name.

Williams and Wheelwright and Aspinwall suffered not more from their banishment than some of the best men of the colony encountered from choice.

The valley of the Connecticut, as early as 1630, became an object of competition. In the following year the earl of Warwick became its first proprietary, under a grant from the council for New England; and it was held by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others, as his assigns. Before any colony could be established with their sanction, the people of New Plymouth, in October, 1633, built a trading-house at Windsor, and conducted with the natives a profitable commerce in furs. For the same trade, "Dutch intruders" from Manhattan, ascending the river, raised at Hartford the house "of Good Hope," and struggled to secure the territory to themselves. In 1635, the younger Winthrop returned from England with a commission from its proprietaries to erect a fort at the mouth of the stream, and the commission was carried into effect. Other settlements were begun by emigrants from the environs of Boston at Hartford and Windsor and Wethersfield; and, in the last days of October, a company of sixty, among whom were women and children, removed to the west. But their journey was undertaken too late in the season; their sufferings were severe, and were greatly exaggerated by malicious rumor to deter others from following them.

In the opening of 1636, "the people, who had resolved to transplant themselves and their estates unto the river Connecticut, judged it inconvenient to go away without any frame of government;" and, at their desire, on the third of March,

the general court of Massachusetts granted a temporary commission to eight men, two from each of the companies who were to plant Springfield, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. At the budding of the trees and the springing of the grass, some smaller parties made their way to the new Hesperia of Puritanism. In June, led by Thomas Hooker, "the light of the western churches," the principal body of about one hundred persons, many of them accustomed to affluence and the ease of European life, began their march. Traversing on foot the pathless forest, they drove before them herds of cattle; advancing hardly ten miles a day; subsisting on the milk of the kine, which browsed on the fresh leaves and early shoots; having no guide but the compass, no pillow for their nightly rest but heaps of stones. How did the hills echo with the unwonted lowing of herds! How were the wilds enlivened by the loud piety of Hooker, famed as "a son of thunder"! The emigrants had been gathered from among the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and the oldest churches of the bay. Roger Ludlow, the first named in the commission for government, unsurpassed in his knowledge of the law and the rights of mankind, had been deputy governor of Massachusetts; John Haynes had for one year been its governor; and Hooker had no rival in public estimation but Cotton, whom he surpassed in force of character, in liberality of spirit, in soundness of judgment, and in clemency.

The new settlement so far toward the west was environed by perils. The Dutch indulged a hope of dispossessing them. No part of New England was more thickly covered with aboriginal inhabitants than Connecticut. The Pequods could muster at least seven hundred fighting men; the white men, in number less than two hundred, were incessantly exposed to an enemy whose delight was carnage.

In 1633, some of the Pequods had murdered the captain and crew of a small Massachusetts vessel trading in Connecticut river. With some appearance of justice, they pleaded the necessity of self-defence; and in November, 1634, the messengers, whom they sent to Boston to ask the alliance of the white men, carried great store of wampum peag, and bundles of sticks in promise of so many beaver and otter

skins. The government of Massachusetts accepted the excuse conditionally, and reconciled the Pequods with their hereditary enemies, the Narragansetts. No longer at variance with a powerful neighbor, the Pequods did not deliver up the murderers. In July, 1636, John Oldham, an enterprising trader, returning from a voyage to the Connecticut river, was murdered, and his men carried off by the Indians at Block island. To punish the crime, Massachusetts sent out ninety men under the command of Endecott. Conforming as nearly as they could to their sanguinary orders, they ravaged Block island, and then, re-enforced by volunteers from Connecticut, they undertook the chastisement of the Pequods. That warlike tribe sought the alliance of its neighbors, the Narragansetts and the Mohicans. The general rising of the natives against the colonists could be frustrated by none but Roger Williams, who was the first to give information of the impending danger. Having received letters from Vane and the council of Massachusetts, requesting his utmost and speediest endeavors to prevent the league, neither storms of wind nor high seas could detain him. Shipping himself alone in a poor canoe, every moment at the hazard of his life, he hastened to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. The Pequod ambassadors, reeking with blood freshly spilled, were already there; and for three days and nights the business compelled him to lodge and mix with them, having cause every night to expect their knives at his throat. The Narragansetts were wavering; but Roger Williams succeeded in dissolving the conspiracy. It was the most intrepid achievement of the war, as perilous in its execution as it was fortunate in its issue. The Pequods were left to contend single-handed against the English.

Continued injuries and murders roused Connecticut to action; and, on the first of May, 1637, the court of its three infant towns decreed immediate war. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was their ally. To John Mason the staff of command was delivered at Hartford by Hooker; and, after nearly a whole night spent, at the request of the soldiers, in importunate prayer by the very learned and godly Stone, about sixty men, one third of the whole colony, aided by John Underhill

and twenty gallant recruits, whom the forethought of Vane had sent from the Bay State, sailed past the Thames, and, designing to reach the Pequod fort unobserved, entered a harbor near Wickford, in the bay of the Narragansetts. The next day was the Lord's, sacred to religion and rest. Early in the week, the captains of the expedition, with the pomp of a military escort, repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch and ruler of the tribe; and the younger and more fiery Miantonomoh, surrounded by two hundred of his bravest warriors, received them in council. "Your design," said he, "is good; but your numbers are too weak to brave the Pequods, who have mighty chieftains, and are skilful in battle;" and, after doubtful friendship, he deserted the desperate enterprise.

To the tribe on Mystic river their bows and arrows seemed formidable weapons; ignorant of European fortresses, they viewed their palisades with complacency; and, as the English boats sailed by, it was rumored that their enemies had vanished through fear. Hundreds of the Pequods spent much of the last night of their lives in rejoicings, at a time when the sentinels of the English were within hearing of their songs. On the twenty-sixth, two hours before day, the soldiers of Connecticut put themselves in motion; and, at the early dawn, they made their attack on the principal fort, which stood in a strong position at the summit of a hill. A watch-dog bays an alarm at their approach; the Indians awake, rally, and resist, as well as bows and arrows can resist weapons of steel. The superiority of number was with them; and fighting closely, hand to hand, victory was tardy. "We must burn them!" shouted Mason, and cast a firebrand to the windward among the light mats of their cabins. Hardly could the English withdraw to encompass the place before the encampment was in a blaze. About six hundred Indians—men, women, and children—perished; two only of the English had fallen.

With the light of morning, three hundred or more Pequod warriors were descried, approaching from their second fort. As they beheld the smoking ruins, they stamped on the ground and tore their hair; but it was in vain to attempt revenge; then and always, to the close of the war, the feeble resistance

of the natives hardly deserved, says Mason, the name of fighting; their defeat was certain, and with little loss to the English. They were never formidable till they became supplied with European weapons.

A portion of the troops hastened homeward to protect the settlements from any sudden attack, while Mason, with about twenty men, marched across the country from the neighborhood of New London to the English fort at Saybrook. He reached the river at sunset; Gardner, who commanded the fort, observed his approach; and never did a Roman consul, returning in triumph, ascend the capitol with more joy than that of Mason and his friends when they found themselves received as victors, and "nobly entertained with many great guns."

In a few days the troops from Massachusetts arrived, attended by Wilson; for the ministers shared every danger. The remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding-places. Sassacus, their sachem, was killed by the Mohawks, to whom he fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansetts. "Fifteen of the boys and two women" were exported by Massachusetts to Providence isle; and the returning ship brought back "some cotton, tobacco, and negroes."

The vigor and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, secured a long period of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the laborer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades. The constitution which, on the fourteenth of January, 1639, was adopted, was of unexampled liberality.

In two successive years, a general court had been held in May; at the time of the election the committees from the towns came in and chose their magistrates, installed them, and engaged themselves to submit to their government and dispensation of justice. "The foundation of authority," said Hooker, in an election sermon preached before the general court, on the last day of May, 1638, "is laid in the free consent of the

people, to whom the choice of public magistrates belongs by God's own allowance." "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place into which they call them."

Winthrop, of Massachusetts, held it to be an error in the sister colony "that they chose divers men who, though otherwise holy and religious, had no learning or judgment which might fit them for affairs of government; by occasion whereof the main burden for managing state government fell upon some one of their ministers, who, though they were men of singular wisdom and godliness, yet, stepping out of their course, their actions wanted that blessing which otherwise might have been expected." In a letter, therefore, written to Hooker, in the midsummer of 1638, "to quench these sparks of contention," Winthrop made remarks on the boundary between the states, and on the rejected articles of confederation which would have given to the commissioners of the states "absolute power;" that is, power of final decision, without need of approval by the several states. He further "expostulated about the unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of counsel or judicature to the body of the people, *quia* the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser. The old law was: Thou shalt bring the matter to the judge."

In reply, Hooker expressed an unwillingness in the matter of confederation "to exceed the limits of that equity which is to be looked at in all combinations of free states." As to the manner of conducting their separate governments, he wrote unreservedly: "That, in the matter which is referred to the judge, the sentence should be left to his discretion, I ever looked at as a way which leads directly to tyranny, and so to confusion; and must plainly profess, if it was in my liberty, I should choose neither to live, nor leave my posterity, under such a government. Let the judge do according to the sentence of the law. Seek the law at its mouth. The heathen man said, by the candle-light of common sense: 'The law is not subject to passion, and, therefore, ought to have chief rule over rulers themselves.' It's also a truth that counsel should

be sought from councillors; but the question yet is, who those should be. In matters of greater consequence, which concern the common good, a general council, chosen by all, to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive, under favor, most suitable to rule, and most safe for relief of the whole. This was the practice of the Jewish church, and the approved experience of the best ordered states."

From this seed sprung the constitution of Connecticut, first in the series of written American constitutions framed by the people for the people. Reluctantly leaving Springfield to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on the fourteenth of January, 1639, "the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, associated and conjoined to be as one public state or commonwealth." The supreme power was intrusted to a general court composed of a governor, magistrates, and deputies from the several towns, all freemen of the commonwealth, and all chosen by ballot. The governor was further required to be "a member of some approved congregation, and" to have been "formerly of the magistracy;" nor might the same person be chosen to that office oftener than once in two years. The governor and the magistrates were chosen by a majority of the whole body of freemen; the deputies of the towns, by all who had been admitted inhabitants of them and had taken the oath of fidelity. Each of the three towns might send four deputies to every general court, and new towns might send so many deputies as the court should judge to be in a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen in the said towns; so that the representatives might form a general council, chosen by all. The general court alone had power to admit a freeman, whose qualifications were required to be residence within the jurisdiction and preceding admission as an inhabitant of one of the towns; that is, according to a later interpretation, a householder. By the oath of allegiance, as in Massachusetts, every freeman must swear to be true and faithful to the government of the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and of no other sovereign was there a mention. The governor was in like manner sworn "to maintain all lawful privileges of this commonwealth," and to give effect "to all wholesome laws that are, or shall be, made by lawful authority here established."

The oath imposed on the magistrates bound them "to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the word of God." The amendment of the fundamental orders rested with the freemen in general court assembled. All power proceeded from the people. From the beginning, Connecticut was a republic, and was in fact independent.

More than two centuries have elapsed; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. Equal laws were the basis of their commonwealth; and therefore its foundations were lasting. These unpretending emigrants invented an admirable system; for they were near to Nature, listened willingly to her voice, and easily copied her forms. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. Freedom springs spontaneously into life; the artificial distinctions of society require centuries to ripen. History has ever celebrated the heroes who have won laurels in scenes of carnage. Has it no place for the wise legislators, who struck the rock in the wilderness, so that the waters of liberty gushed forth in copious and perennial streams? They who judge of men by their services to the human race will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker, and will join with it that of Ludlow, and still more that of Haynes.

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of his friend, the excellent Theophilus Eaton. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism; but the spirit of humanity sheltered itself under the rough exterior. In April, 1638, the colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak. Beneath the leafless tree the little flock was taught by Davenport that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the scriptures held forth to them." A title to lands was obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year,

the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, the followers of Him who was laid in a manger held their constituent assembly in a barn. There, by the influence of Davenport, it was resolved that the scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinances to themselves and their posterity were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation-work of organizing the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others, were "the seven pillars" for the new House of Wisdom in the wilderness.

In August 1639, the seven met together. Abrogating every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles;" and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you," such was part of the minister's text, "bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered; and God's word established as the only rule in public affairs. Eaton, one of the most opulent of the comers to New England, was annually elected governor for near twenty years, till his death. All agree that he conducted public affairs with unfailing discretion and equity; in private life, he joined the stoicism of the Puritan to innate benevolence and mildness.

New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen. As neighboring towns were planted, each constituted itself a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the eternal light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime, their pleasant villages spread along the Sound and on the opposite shore of Long Island, and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRELATES AND MASSACHUSETTS.

The prohibition of the Book of Common Prayer at Salem produced an early harvest of implacable enemies to the colony. Resentment rankled in the minds of some, whom Endecott had perhaps too passionately punished; and Mason and Gorges persistently kept alive their vindictive complaints. A petition even reached King Charles, complaining of distraction and disorder in the plantations; but Massachusetts was ably defended by Saltonstall, Humphrey, and Cradock, its friends in England; and, in January, 1633, the committee of the privy council ordered the adventurers to continue their undertakings cheerfully, for the king did not design to impose on the people of Massachusetts the ceremonies which they had emigrated to avoid. The country, it was believed, would in time be very beneficial to England.

After the charter had been carried over to America, the progress of these earliest settlements was watched in the mother country with the most glowing interest. A letter from New England was venerated "as a sacred script or as a writing of some holy prophet, and was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it." Voices from the churches of Massachusetts prevailed with their persecuted friends in Old England till "the departure of so many of the best, such numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians," seemed to the serious minded "an ill-boding sign to the nation," and began to effray the Episcopal party. In February, 1634, ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council.

But the change reached farther. The archbishops could

complain that not only was the religious system which was forbidden by the laws of the realm established in the new colony in America, but the service established by law in England was prohibited. Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of an established system of church discipline which was at variance with the laws of England. The superintendence of the colonies was, therefore, in April, 1634, removed from the privy council to an arbitrary special commission, of which William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of York, were the chief. These, with ten of the highest officers of state, were invested with full power to make laws and orders for the government of English colonies planted in foreign parts, to appoint judges and magistrates and establish courts for civil and ecclesiastical affairs, to regulate the church, to impose penalties and imprisonment for offences in ecclesiastical matters, to remove governors and require an account of their government, to determine all appeals from the colonies, and to revoke all charters and patents which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

Cradock, who had been governor of the corporation in England before the transfer of the charter of Massachusetts, was strictly charged to deliver it up; and he wrote to the governor and council to send it home. Upon receipt of his letter, they resolved "not to return any answer or excuse at that time." In September, a copy of the commission to Archbishop Laud and his associates was brought to Boston; and it was at the same time rumored that the colonists were to be compelled by force to accept a new governor, the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the commissioners. The intelligence awakened "the magistrates and deputies to discover their minds each to other, and to hasten their fortifications," toward which, poor as was the colony, six hundred pounds were raised.

In January, 1635, all the ministers assembled at Boston; and they unanimously declared against the reception of a general governor, saying: "We ought to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able; if not, to avoid and protract."

In the month before this declaration, it is not strange that

Laud and his associates should have esteemed the inhabitants of Massachusetts to be men of refractory humors; complaints resounded of parties consenting in nothing but hostility to the church of England; of designs to shake off the royal jurisdiction. Restraints were placed upon emigration; no one above the rank of a serving man might remove to the colony without the special leave of Laud and his associates; and persons of inferior order were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, of obedience to the church of England, as well as fidelity to its king.

Willingly as these acts were enforced by religious bigotry, they were promoted by another cause. A change had come over the character of the great Plymouth council for the colonization of New England, which had already made grants of all the lands from the Penobscot to Long Island. The members of the company desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonor of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. A meeting of the lords was convened in April, 1635; and the coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, was divided into shares, and distributed among them by lots.

To the possession of their prizes the inflexible colony of Massachusetts formed an obstacle, which they hoped to overcome by surrendering their general patent for New England to the king. To obtain of him a confirmation of their respective grants, they set forth "that the Massachusetts patentees, having surreptitiously obtained from the crown a confirmation of their grant of the soil, had made themselves a free people, and for such hold themselves at present; framing unto themselves new conceits of religion and new forms of ecclesiastical and temporal government, punishing divers that would not approve thereof, under other pretences indeed, yet for no other cause save only to make themselves absolute masters of the country, and uncontrollable in their new laws."

At the Trinity term of the court of king's bench, a quo warranto was brought against the company of the Massachusetts bay. At the ensuing Michaelmas, several of its members who resided in England made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of

the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered against them. The unexpected death of Mason, the proprietary of New Hampshire, in December, 1635, removed the chief instigator of these aggressions.

In July, 1637, the king, professing "to redress the mischiefs that had arisen out of the many different humours," took the government of New England into his own hands, and appointed over it Sir Ferdinando Gorges as governor-general, upon whose "gravity, moderation, and experience," some hope of introducing a new system was reposed. But the measure was feeble and ineffectual. While Gorges in England sided with the adversaries of Massachusetts, he avoided all direct collision with its people, pretending by his letters and speeches to seek their welfare; he never left England, and was hardly heard of except by petitions to its government. Attempting great matters and incurring large expenses, he lost all. The royal grant of extended territory in Maine was never of any avail to him.

Persecution in England gave strength to the Puritan colony. The severe censures in the star-chamber, the greatness of the fines which avarice rivalled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, continued; and men were "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops." The pillory had become the scene of human agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment; and the friends of Laud jested on the sufferings which were to cure the obduracy of fanatics. "The very genius of that nation of people," said Wentworth, "leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that ever authority ordains for them." They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses were slit; their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash and the shears and the glowing iron could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. The injured party even learned to despise

the mercy of their oppressors. Four years after Prynne had been punished for a publication, he was a second time arraigned for a like offence. "I thought," said Lord Finch, "that Prynne had lost his ears already; but," added he, looking at the prisoner, "there is something left yet;" and an officer of the court, removing the hair, displayed the mutilated organs. A crowd gathered round the scaffold where Prynne and Bastwick and Burton were to suffer maim. "Christians," said Prynne, "stand fast; be faithful to God and your country; or you bring on yourselves and your children perpetual slavery." The dungeon, the pillory, and the scaffold were stages in the progress of civil liberty toward its triumph.

There was a period when the ministry of Charles feared no dangerous resistance in England; and the attempts to override the rights of parliament by monarchical power were accompanied by analogous movements against New England, of whose colonists a correspondent of Laud reported, "that they aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty; that it was accounted treason in their general court to speak of appeals to the king."

The Puritans, hemmed in by dangers on every side, and having no immediate prospect of success at home, desired at any rate to escape from their native country. "To restrain the transportation to the colonies of subjects whose principal end was to live as much as they could without the reach of authority," one proclamation succeeded another. On the first day of May, 1638, the privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England. It has been said that Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet. The English ministry of that day might willingly have exiled Hampden, who was at that very time engaged in resisting the levy of ship-money; no original authors, except royalists writing on hearsay, allude to the design imputed to him; in America there exists no evidence of his expected arrival; the remark of the historian Hutchinson refers to the well-known schemes of Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke. There came over, during this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons; and, had Hampden designed to emigrate, he possessed energy enough

to have accomplished his purpose. He undoubtedly had watched with deep interest the progress of Massachusetts; The "Conclusions" had early attracted his attention; and, in 1631, he had taken part in a purchase of territory on the Narragansett; but the greatest patriot statesmen of his times, the man whom Charles I. would gladly have seen drawn and quartered, whom Clarendon paints as possessing beyond all his contemporaries "a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute," and whom Baxter revered as able, by his presence and conversation, to give a new charm to the rest of the saints in Heaven, never embarked for America. The fleet in which he is said to have taken his passage was delayed but a few days; on petition of the owners and passengers, King Charles removed the restraint; the ships proceeded on their voyage; and the company arrived in the bay of Massachusetts. Had Hampden and Cromwell been of the party, they would have reached New England.

Twenty-six days before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the former proceedings by a quo warranto, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal, it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation.

But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." The colonists, on the sixth of September, without desponding, demanded a trial before condemnation. They urged that the recall of the patent would be a manifest breach of faith, pregnant with evils to themselves and their neighbors; that it would strengthen the plantations of the French and the Dutch; that it would discourage all future attempts at colonial enterprise; and, finally, "if the patent be taken from us," such was their remonstrance, "the common people will conceive that his majesty has cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves of incurring his majesty's displeasure."

What liberal English statesmen thought of the people of Massachusetts we know from D'Ewes, who wrote: "All men whom malice blindeth not, nor impiety transverseth, may see that the very finger of God hath hitherto gone with them and guided them." On the other hand, the government of Charles were of the opinion that "all corporations, as is found by experience in the corporation of New England, are refractory to monarchical government and endeavor to poison a plantation with factious spirits."

Before the supplication of the colony was made, the monarch was himself involved in disasters. Anticipating success in his tyranny in England, with headlong indiscretion, he insisted on introducing a liturgy into Scotland, and compelling the uncompromising disciples of Knox to listen to prayers translated from the Roman missal. In July, 1637, the first attempt at reading the new service in the cathedral of Edinburgh was the signal for that series of events which promised to restore liberty to England and give peace to the colonies. The movement began, as great revolutions almost always do, from the ranks of the people. The nobles of Scotland take advantage of the anger of the people to promote their ambition. In the next year the national covenant is published, and is signed by the Scottish nation, almost without distinction of rank or sex; the defences of despotism are broken down; the flood washes away every vestige of Anglican ecclesiastical oppression. Scotland rises in arms for a holy war, and enlists religious enthusiasm under its banner in its contest against a despot, who has neither a regular treasury, nor an army, nor the confidence of his people. The wisest of his subjects esteem the insurgents as their friends and allies. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters: there is no need to forbid emigration; fiery spirits, who had fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle of England for liberty. In the following years the reformation of church and state, the attainder of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, caused all men to stay at home in expectation of a new world.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was ripened; the contests in which the unfortunate

Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness was the admiration of their times. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first found shelter were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament is esteemed to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred. Two hundred and ninety-eight ships had borne them across the Atlantic; and the cost of the plantations had been almost a million of dollars—a great expenditure and a great emigration for that age. In a little more than ten years, fifty towns and villages had been planted; between thirty and forty churches built; and strangers, as they gazed, could not but acknowledge God's blessing on the endeavors of the planters. A public school, for which, on the eighth of September, 1636, the general court made provision, was, in the next year, established at Cambridge; and when, in 1638, John Harvard, a church member of Charlestown, where he was "sometimes minister of God's word," dying in the second year of his residence, bequeathed to it his library and half his fortune, it was named HARVARD COLLEGE. "To complete the colony in church and commonwealth work," Jose Glover, a worthy minister, "able in estate," and of a liberal spirit, in that same year embarked for Boston with fonts of letters for printing, and a printer. He died on the passage; but, in 1639, Stephen Daye, the printer, printed the Freeman's Oath, and an almanac calculated for New England; and, in 1640, "for the edification and comfort of the saints," the Psalms, faithfully but rudely translated in metre from the Hebrew by Thomas Welde and John Eliot, ministers of Roxbury, assisted by Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, were published in a volume of three hundred octavo pages. This was the first book printed in America north of the city of Mexico.

In temporal affairs, affluence came in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish was a staple. The art of ship-building was introduced with the first emigrants

to Salem; but "Winthrop had with him William Stephens, a shipwright, who had been preparing to go for Spain, and who would have been as a precious jewel to any state that obtained him." He had built in England many ships of great burden, one even of six hundred tons, and he was "so able a man that there was hardly such another to be found in the kingdom." In New England he lived with great content, where, from the time of his arrival, ship-building was carried on with surpassing skill, so that vessels were soon constructed of four hundred tons. So long as the ports were thronged with new-comers, the older settlers found full employment in supplying their wants. But now "men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof they had store from Barbadoes." In view of the exigency, "the general court made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."

"Upon the great liberty which the king had left the parliament in England" that first met in 1641, "some of our friends there," says Winthrop, "wrote to us advice to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much. But, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that, if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us. It might prove very prejudicial to us." When the letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send their deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, the same sagacity led them to neglect the summons. Especially Hooker, of Hartford, "liked not the business," and deemed it his duty rather to stay in quiet and obscurity with his people in Connecticut than to go three thousand miles to plead for independency with Presbyterians in England. Yet such commercial advantages were desired as might be obtained without a surrender of chartered rights. In 1641, the general court "sent three chosen men into England to congratulate the happy success there, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required, for the settling of the right form of church discipline there." Of these agents, Hugh Peter was one.

The security enjoyed by New England presented the long desired opportunity of establishing a "body of liberties" as a written constitution of government. In the absence of a code of laws, the people had for several years continued to be uneasy at the extent of power that rested in the discretion of the magistrates. On the other hand, most of the magistrates and some of the elders, thinking that the fittest laws would arise upon occasions, and gain validity as customs, and, moreover, fearing that their usages, if established as regular statutes, might be censured by their enemies as repugnant to the laws of England, "had not been very forward in this matter." Now that some of the causes of apprehension existed no longer, the great work of constitutional legislation was resumed; and, in December, 1641, a session of three weeks was employed in considering a system which had been prepared chiefly by Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich. He had been formerly a student and practiser in the courts of common law in England, but became a non-conforming minister; so that he was competent to combine the humane principles of the common law with those of natural right and equality, as deduced from the Bible. After mature deliberation, his "model," which for liberality and comprehensiveness may vie with any similar record from the days of Magna Charta, was adopted as "the body of liberties" of the Massachusetts colony.

All the general officers of the jurisdiction, including governor, deputy governor, treasurer, assistants, military commander, and admiral, if there should be a naval force, were to be chosen annually by the freemen of the plantation, and paid from the common treasury. The freemen in the several towns were to choose deputies from among themselves; or, "to the end the ablest gifted men might be made use of in so weighty a work," they might select them elsewhere as they judged fittest; the deputies were to be paid from the treasury of their respective towns, and to serve "at the most but one year; that the country may have an annual liberty to do in that case what is most behooveful for the best welfare thereof." No general assembly could be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of the major part thereof. The freemen of every town

had power to make such by-laws and constitutions as might concern the welfare of the town, provided they be not of a criminal nature, nor repugnant to the public laws of the country; and that their penalties exceed not twenty shillings for one offence. They had power to choose yearly selectmen "to order the prudential occasions of the town according to instructions to be given them in writing."

Life, honor, and personal liberty and estate were placed under the perpetual protection of law. To every person, whether inhabitant or foreigner, was promised equal justice without partiality or delay. Every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner, free or not free—that is, whether admitted as a member of the general court of the freemen under the charter or not—had the liberty to come to any court, council, or town-meeting, and there to move any question or present any petition, either by speech or writing. Every officer exercising judicial authority was annually elected; the assistants by the freemen of the whole plantation; the associates to assist the assistants in any inferior court, by the towns belonging to that court; and all jurors, by the freemen of the town where they dwelt. Judicial proceedings were simplified; by mutual consent of plaintiff and defendant, actions might be tried, at their option, by the bench or by a jury; and in criminal trials the like choice was granted to the accused.

Every incident of feudal tenure that would have been a restraint on the possession and transmission of real estate was utterly forbidden; and all lands and heritages were declared free and alienable; so that the land of a child under age, or an idiot, might, with the consent of a general court, be conveyed away. The charter had indeed reserved to the king, by way of rent, one fifth of the gold and silver that might be mined; but this was a mere theoretical feud, resolving itself into fealty alone. In Massachusetts, all the land was allodial. All persons of the age of twenty-one years, even the excommunicate or condemned, had full power to alienate their lands and estates, and to make their wills and testaments. Children inherited equally as co-partners the property of intestate parents, whether real or personal, except that to the first-born son, where there was a son, a double portion was assigned, unless

the general court should judge otherwise. No man could be compelled to go out of the limits of the plantation upon any offensive war. To every man within the jurisdiction, free liberty was assured to remove himself and his family at their pleasure. The grant of monopolies was prohibited, except of new inventions profitable to the country, and that for a short time. Every married woman was protected against bodily correction or stripes by her husband, and had redress if at his death he should not leave her a competent portion of his estate. As to foreign nations professing the true Christian religion, all fugitives from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine or wars, were ordered to be entertained according to that power and prudence that God should give; so that the welcome of the commonwealth was as wide as sorrow. On slavery this was the rule: "There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage, or captivitie amongst us, unles it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authoritie." "If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death."

The severity of the Levitical law against witchcraft, blasphemy, and sins against nature, was retained; otherwise, death was the punishment only for murder, adultery, man-stealing, and false witness wittingly to take away any man's life. In the following year, rape was made a capital crime.

With regard to the concerns of religion, all the people of God who were orthodox in judgment and not scandalous in life had full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate; to exercise all the ordinances of God; and from time to time to elect and ordain all their officers, provided they be able, pious, and orthodox. For the preventing and removing of error, ministers and elders of near adjoining churches might hold public Christian conference, provided that nothing be imposed by way of authority by one or more churches upon another, but only by way of brotherly consultations.

Such were the most important of the liberties and laws,

established at the end of 1641, for the government of Massachusetts. Embracing the freedom of the commonwealth, of municipalities, of persons, and of churches according to the principles of Congregationalism, "the body of liberties" exhibits the truest picture of the principles, character, and intentions of the people of Massachusetts, and the best evidence of its vigor and self-dependence.

In its main features it only gave authority to the customs of the colony. The public teaching of all children, the train-bands and the training-field, the town-meeting and the meeting of all the inhabitants for public worship—these essential elements of early New England public life grew out of the character and condition of the people, and, as it were, created the laws for their perpetuation.

Do we seek to trace the New England town to its origin? The vital principle of Teutonic liberty lies in the immemorial usage of the meeting of all the people with the equal right of each qualified inhabitant to give counsel and to vote on public affairs. The usage still exists, nearly in its pristine purity, in some of the cantons of Switzerland; it has left in the Teutonic race a profound sense of the need of local self-government; in England it is the formative idea of its parliament and of its hundred, and in some narrow measure still survives in the parish. It was saved in many English towns by special agreement with their rulers, though these agreements were warred upon and essentially changed by later and more arbitrary kings. This seminal principle of English liberty took root wherever Englishmen trod the soil of America. The first ordinance for the constitution of Virginia enumerated the divisions of towns, hundreds, and plantations; but there the system was imperfectly developed from the scattered mode of life of the planters and the introduction of the English system of parishes. In New England the precious seed fell on the best ground for its quickening. Each company of settlers as it arrived, or as it divided from earlier companies, formed a town, which at once began as by right with taking care of its own concerns. All the electors met annually, and more often if required. They might at any time be called together to treat of any subject that was of interest to them, even if it

were but to express an opinion. When business became too complicated to be executed in the public assembly, the annual meeting voted what should be done in the year, and selected men to carry out their votes. When the annual gathering of all the freemen of the corporation gave way to the representative system, each town that had as many as ten freemen might send at least one deputy to what was still called the general court. Thus in Massachusetts, and it was substantially so in all the New England states, the commonwealth was made up of living, integral organizations, in which the people, from the beginning, brought themselves up to be members of the state, and to take their share in public life.

In these early days, there fell under the control of the several towns two subjects, which are now removed from them. The minister, without whom the existence of a town could not be conceived of, was chosen in open town-meeting, and received his support according to the contract that might be made between him and the people. This regulation continued in usage in some of the interior precincts for nearly two centuries.

By the charter, all the land of the commonwealth was granted to the freemen of the corporation; but they never claimed a right to distributute it among themselves, nor was a permanent community of property in it ever attempted or designed. As the rule, the land within the limits of a town was granted by the commonwealth to the individuals who were to plant the town, not in perpetuity, nor in equal parts, but to be distributed among the inhabitants according to their previous agreements, or to their wants and just expectations as judged of by the towns themselves. Each town made its own rules for the division of them. It was usual to reserve a large part of the town's domain for such persons as from time to time were yet to be received as inhabitants; and, in the mean while, rights to wood, timber, and herbage, in the undivided lands, attached to all householders.

Soon after the promulgation of its "liberties," the territory of Massachusetts was extended to the Piscataqua, for which the strict interpretation of its charter offered an excuse. The people of New Hampshire had long been harassed by vexa-

tious proprietary claims; dreading the perils of anarchy, they provided a remedy for the evils of a disputed jurisdiction by the immediate exercise of their natural rights; and, on the fourteenth of April, 1642, by their own voluntary act, they were annexed to their powerful neighbor, not as a province, but on equal terms, as an integral portion of the state. The change was effected with great deliberation. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans; and the system of Massachusetts could not properly be applied to the new acquisitions. In September, the general court adopted the measure which justice recommended; neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was maintained, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.

The attempt to acquire the land on Narragansett bay was less deserving of success. Samuel Gorton, a benevolent enthusiast, who used to say heaven was not a place, there was no heaven but in the hearts of good men, no hell but in the mind, had created disturbances in the district of Warwick. In 1641, a minority of the inhabitants, wearied with harassing disputes, requested the interference of the magistrates of Massachusetts; and two sachems near Providence surrendered the soil to the jurisdiction of that state. Gorton and his partisans did not disguise their scorn for the colonial clergy; they were advocates for liberty of conscience, and at the same time, having no hope of protection except from England, they were, by their position, enemies to colonial independence; they denied the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts, not only on the soil of Warwick, but everywhere, inasmuch as it was tainted by a want of true allegiance. Such opinions, if carried into effect, would have subverted the liberties of Massachusetts, as well as its ecclesiastical system, and were therefore by a few thought worthy of death; but a small majority of the deputies, in 1643, was more merciful, and Gorton and his associates were imprisoned. The people murmured even at this less degree of severity, and the imprisoned men were soon set at liberty; but the claim to the territory was not immediately abandoned.

In May, 1643, the general court of Massachusetts received an official copy of the order of the house of commons of the tenth of March of that year, in which it was acknowledged that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the parent state;" and their imports and exports were freed from all taxation "until the house of commons should take order to the contrary." The ordinance was thankfully acknowledged, and "entered among their public records to remain there to posterity." At the same time the governor was directed in his oath of office to omit to swear allegiance to King Charles, "seeing that he had violated the privileges of parliament and had made war upon them."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

The enlargement of the dominion of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The union of the Calvinist states of New England was a still more important measure. In August, 1637, immediately after the victories over the Pequods, and before New Haven was planted, at a time when the earliest synod of New England ministers had gathered in Boston, a day of meeting was appointed, at the request of the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, to agree upon articles of confederation, and notice was given to Plymouth that they might join in it. Many of the American statesmen, familiar with the character of the government of the Netherlands, possessed sufficient experience and knowledge to frame a plan of union; but the warning to Plymouth was so short that they could not come, and the subject was deferred.

In March, 1638, Davenport and Eaton, declining the solicitations of the government of Massachusetts to remain within its jurisdiction, pledged themselves in their chosen abode "to be instrumental for the common good of the plantations which the Divine Providence had combined together in a strong bond of brotherly affection, so that their several armies might mutually strengthen them both against their several enemies." The dangers against which they needed to concert joint action were those which threatened their institutions from the prelates and the king, and those which menaced their territory from the Dutch of New Netherlands and the French of Acadia and Canada. In the course of the year, a union

of the Calvinist colonies came again into discussion; and Massachusetts propounded as the order of confederation that, upon any matter of difference, the assembled commissioners of every one of the confederate colonies should have full power to determine it. Those of Connecticut, from their shyness of coming under the government of Massachusetts, insisted that the commissioners, if they could not agree, should only make reports to their several colonies till unanimity should be obtained. But Massachusetts, "holding it very unlikely that all the churches in all the plantations would ever unanimously agree upon the same propositions, refused the reservation to each state of a negative upon the proceedings of the whole confederacy;" for, in that case, "all would have come to nothing," and, after infinite trouble and expense, the issue would have been left to the sword.

The Dutch on Manhattan had received a new and more active governor, who complained much of the encroachments of Connecticut, and sought by a friendly correspondence with Massachusetts to nurse divisions in New England. To guard against this danger, in May, 1639, Hooker and Haynes sailed into Massachusetts bay, where they remained a month in the hope to bring about a treaty for confederation. The general court moved first in the measure, and the more readily that the Dutch "might not notice any breach or alienation" between kindred colonies.

The confederation having failed in consequence of the reluctance of Connecticut to consent to be bound by any vote that should be less than unanimous, it devolved on that colony, if it would renew efforts for union, to prepare a form that should be accepted by Massachusetts. A concert was established with Fenwick, the representative of "the lords and gentlemen" interested at Saybrook; and, in 1641, he proposed to wait "one year longer," in expectation of the arrival of his company, or at least some part of them. But, under the change in the political condition of England, they had abandoned the thought of emigration, though not their friendly interest in New England. At length, in September, 1642, Connecticut sent to Massachusetts propositions "for a combination of the colonies."

These propositions reached Boston at a time when the colony was closely watching the rage of parties in the mother country, and when it was rumored that a party in Virginia was about to rise for the king. On the advice of the elders, the general court, then in session, had ordered a fast "chiefly on account of the news out of England concerning the breach between the king and parliament." On the twenty-seventh of September, the propositions from Connecticut were read in the general court and referred to a committee, to be considered of after its adjournment.

The result of the deliberations of the several colonies was that, in May, 1643, the general court, which was then in session, chose their governor, two magistrates, and three deputies, "to treat with their friends of New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth, who were come about a confederacy between them." At a time so fraught with danger from their wide dispersion on the sea-coasts and rivers, from living encompassed with people of other nations and strange languages, from a combination of the natives against the several English plantations, and from the sad distractions in England, whence they had no right to expect either advice or protection, "they conceived it their bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation among themselves for mutual help and strength, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects they might be and continue one." The meeting was in fact a regular convention for framing a constitution, and its members were selected from the ablest men of New England. Among others there came from Connecticut, Haynes; from New Haven, Eaton; from Saybrook, Fenton, by the consent of New Haven; from Plymouth, Winslow; from Massachusetts, Winthrop.

The articles of confederation, which were completed before the end of the month, gave to the four Calvinist governments the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND. For themselves and their posterity, they entered into a firm and perpetual league of offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, both for preserving and propagating the truths and liberties of the gospel, and for their mutual safety and welfare. It was established that each of them should preserve entirely

to itself the "peculiar jurisdiction and government" within its own limits; and with these the confederation was never "to intermeddle." The charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, was to be apportioned upon the several jurisdictions according to the number of their male inhabitants from sixteen years old to threescore, each jurisdiction being left to collect its quota according to its own custom of rating. In like equitable proportion, the advantage derived from war was to be shared. The method of repelling a sudden invasion of one of the colonies by an enemy, whether French, Dutch, or Indian, was minutely laid down. For the concluding of all affairs that concerned the whole confederation, the largest state, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no more delegates than the least; there were to be chosen, by and out of each of the four jurisdictions, two commissioners, of whom every one was required to be "in church fellowship." These were to meet annually on the first Thursday in September, the first and fifth of every five years at Boston, the intervening years at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth in rotation; and to vote not by states, but man by man.

At each meeting, they might choose out of themselves a president, but could endow him with no other power than to direct the comely carrying on of all proceedings. The commissioners were by a vote of three fourths of their number to determine all affairs of war, peace, and alliances; Indian affairs; the admission of new members into the confederacy; the allowing of any one of the present confederates to enlarge its territory by annexing other plantations, or any two of these to join in one jurisdiction; and "all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offence, and defence." When six of the eight commissioners could agree, their vote was to be final; otherwise, the propositions, with their reasons, were to be referred to the four general courts of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven.

The commissioners were enjoined to provide for peace among the confederates themselves, and to secure free and speedy justice to all the confederates in each of the other juris-

dictions equally as in their own. The runaway servant was to be delivered up to his master, and the fugitive from justice to the officer in pursuit of him. The power of coercing a confederate who should break any of the articles rested with the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, "that both peace and this present confederation might be entirely preserved without violation."

"This perpetual confederation and the several articles and agreements thereof," so runs its record of May, 1643, "being read and seriously considered, were fully allowed and confirmed by the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven." On the seventh of the following June, Plymouth by its general court gave order "to subscribe the same in its name, and to affix thereto its seal."

The articles of the New England confederacy not only provided for the return of the fugitive slave; they classed persons among the spoils of war, and the sternest morality of that day doomed captive red men to slavery. As early as 1637, negro slaves were imported into New England from Providence isle. But when, in 1645, a party who sailed from Boston "for Guinea to trade for negroes," joined some Londoners in detaining as prisoners the natives "whom they invited upon the Lord's day aboard one of their ships," and assaulted a town which they burned, killing some of the people, a cry was raised against "such vile and most odious courses, abhorred of all good and just men." The accused escaped punishment only because the court could not take cognizance of crimes committed in foreign lands. In the next year, after advice with the elders, the representatives of the people, bearing "witness against the heinous crime of man-stealing," ordered the negroes to be restored, at the public charge, "to their native country, with a letter expressing the indignation of the general court" at their wrongs.

When George Fox visited Barbados, in 1671, he enjoined it upon the planters that they should "deal mildly and gently with their negroes; and that, after certain years of servitude, they should make them free." His idea had been anticipated by the fellow-citizens of Gorton and Roger Williams. On the eighteenth of May, 1652, the representatives of Provi-

dence and Warwick, perceiving the disposition of people in the colony "to buy negroes," and hold them "as slaves forever," enacted that "no black mankind" shall, "by covenant, bond, or otherwise," be held to perpetual service; the master, "at the end of ten years, shall set them free, as the manner is with English servants; and that man that will not let" his slave "go free, or shall sell him away, to the end that he may be enslaved to others for a longer time, shall forfeit to the colony forty pounds." Now forty pounds was nearly twice the value of a negro slave. The law was not enforced; but the principle did not perish.

The confederacy possessed no direct executive power; and it remained for its several members to interpret and to execute the votes of their commissioners. Moreover, Massachusetts too greatly exceeded the others in power. Yet the union lived or lingered through forty years; and, after it was cut down, left the hope that a wider and better one would spring from its root.

The provision for the reception of new members into the confederacy was without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The desire of the plantations of Providence was rejected; the request of the islanders of Rhode Island was equally vain, because they would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth.

On the seventh of September, 1643, the commissioners of the confederacy opened their first meeting by the election of John Winthrop as their president. Against the claim of the Dutch they allowed the right of Connecticut to colonize Long Island, and they assumed the office of protecting the settlements against the natives, whose power was growing formidable in proportion as they became acquainted with the arts of civilized life, but who were, at the same time, weakened by dissensions among themselves. Now that the Pequod nation was extinct, the more quiet Narragansetts could hardly remain at peace with the less numerous Mohegans. Anger and revenge brooded in the mind of Miantonomoh. He hated the Mohegans, for they were the allies of the Eng-

lish, by whom he had been arraigned as a criminal. He had suffered indignities at Boston, alike wounding to his pride as a chieftain and his honor as a man. His savage wrath was kindled against Uncas, his accuser, whom he detested as doubly his enemy—once as the sachem of a hostile tribe, and again as the sycophant of the white men. Gathering his men suddenly together, in defiance of a treaty to which the English were parties, Miantonomoh, accompanied by a thousand warriors, fell upon the Mohegans. But his movements were as rash as his spirit was impetuous: he was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had doomed as a certain prey to his vengeance. By the laws of Indian warfare, the fate of the captive was death. Yet Gorton and his friends, who held their lands by a grant from Miantonomoh, interceded for their benefactor. The unhappy chief was conducted to Hartford; and the wavering Uncas, who had the strongest claims to the gratitude and protection of the English, asked the advice of the commissioners of the united colonies. Murder had ever been severely punished by the Puritans: they had at Plymouth, with the advice of Massachusetts, executed three of their own men for taking the life of one Indian; and the elders, to whom the case of Miantonomoh was referred—finding that he had, deliberately and in time of quiet, murdered a servant of the Mohegan chief; that he had fomented discontents against the English; and that, in contempt of a league, he had plunged into a useless and bloody war—could not perceive any reason for interfering to save him. Uncas received his captive, and, conveying the helpless victim beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, put him to death. So perished Miantonomoh, the friend of the exiles from Massachusetts, the benefactor of the fathers of Rhode Island.

The tribe of Miantonomoh burned to avenge the execution of their chief; but they feared a conflict with the English, whose alliance they vainly solicited, and who persevered in protecting the Mohegans. The Narragansetts at last submitted in sullenness to a peace, of which the terms were alike hateful to their independence, their prosperity, and their love of revenge.

While the commissioners, thus unreservedly and without

appeal, controlled the relation of the native tribes, they, of their own authority, negotiated a treaty of peace with the governor of Acadia.

Content with the security which the confederacy afforded, the people of Connecticut desired no guarantee for their institutions from the government of England; taking care only, by a regular purchase, to obtain a title to the soil that belonged to the assigns of the earl of Warwick.

The people of Rhode Island, excluded from the colonial union, could never have maintained their existence as a separate state had they not sought the interference and protection of the mother country; and Roger Williams, the founder of the colony, was chosen to conduct the important mission. In 1643, embarking at Manhattan, he arrived in England about the time of the death of Hampden. The parliament had committed the affairs of the American colonies to the earl of Warwick, as governor in chief, assisted by a council of five peers and twelve commoners. Among these commoners was Henry Vane, who welcomed the American envoy as an ancient friend. The favor of parliament was won by the "printed Indian labors of Roger Williams, the like whereof was not extant from any part of America;" and his merits as a missionary induced "both houses to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode." On the fourteenth of March, 1644, the places of refuge for "soul-liberty," on the Narragansett bay, were incorporated, "with full power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition;" "to place and displace officers of justice, as they, or the greatest part of them, shall by free consent agree unto." To the Long Parliament, and especially to Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island owes its existence as a political state.

A double triumph awaited Williams in 1644 on his return to New England. He arrived at Boston, where letters from the parliament insured him a safe reception. But what honors were prepared for the happy negotiator on his return to

the province which he had founded! As he reached Seekonk, he found the water covered with a fleet of canoes; all Providence had come forth to welcome the return of its benefactor. Receiving their successful ambassador, the group of boats started for the opposite shore; and, as they paddled across the stream, Roger Williams, placed in the centre of his grateful fellow-citizens, "was elevated and transported out of himself."

And now came the experiment of the efficacy of popular sovereignty. The value of a moral principle may be tried on a small community as well as a large one. There were already several towns in the new state, filled with the strangest and most incongruous elements—Anabaptists and Antinomians, fanatics, and infidels, as its enemies asserted; so that, if a man had lost his religious opinions, he might have been sure to find them again in some village of Rhode Island. All men were equal; all might meet and debate in the public assemblies; all might aspire to office; the people, for a season, constituted itself its own tribune, and every public law required confirmation in the primary assemblies. The little "democracie," which, at the beat of the drum or the voice of the herald, used to assemble beneath an oak or by the open sea-side, was famous for its "headiness and tumults," its stormy town-meetings, and the angry feuds of its herdsmen and shepherds; but, true as the needle to the pole, the popular will instinctively pursued the popular interest. Amidst the jarring quarrels of rival statesmen in the plantations, good men were chosen to administer the government; and the spirit of mercy, of liberality and wisdom, was impressed on its legislation. "Our popularitie," say their records for May, 1647, "shall not, as some conjecture it will, prove an anarchie, and so a common tirannie; for we are exceeding desirous to preserve every man safe in his person, name, and estate."

Yet danger still menaced. The executive council of state in England, in April, 1651, granted to Coddington a commission for governing the islands; and such a dismemberment of the territory of the narrow state must have terminated in the division of the remaining soil between the adjacent governments. Williams again returned to England; and, with

John Clarke, his colleague in the mission, was again successful. The dangerous commission was vacated, and, on the second of October, 1652, the charter and union of what now forms the state of Rhode Island was confirmed. The general assembly, in its gratitude, desired that Williams might himself obtain from the sovereign authority in England an appointment as governor, for a year, over the whole colony. But, if gratitude blinded the province, ambition did not blind its envoy. Williams refused to sanction a measure which would have furnished a most dangerous precedent, and was content with the honor of doing good. His success with the executive council was due to the intercession of Sir Henry Vane. "Under God, the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island was Sir Henry." "From the first beginning of the Providence colony," thus, in 1654, did the town-meeting address Sir Henry Vane, "you have been a noble and true friend to an outcast and despised people; we have ever reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving-kindness and favor. We have long been free from the iron yoke of wolvish bishops; we have sitten dry from the streams of blood spilt by the wars in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor in this colony have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly Christian magistrates. We have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tithes are. We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people, that we can hear of, under the whole heaven. When we are gone, our posterity and children after us shall read, in our town records, your loving-kindness to us, and our real endeavor after peace and righteousness."

Far different were the early destinies of the province of Maine. In June, 1640, a general court was held at Saco, under the auspices of the lord proprietary, who had drawn upon paper a stately scheme of government, with deputies and counsellors, a marshal and a treasurer of the public revenue, chancellors, and a master of the ordnance, and every thing that the worthy old man deemed essential to his greatness. Sir Ferdinando had "travailed in the cause above forty years," and expended above twenty thousand pounds; yet, in 1642, all the regalia which Thomas Gorges, his trusty and well-beloved cousin and deputy,

could find in the principality, were not enough for the scanty furniture of a cottage. Agamenticus, though in truth but "a poor village," soon became a chartered borough; like another Romulus, the veteran soldier resolved to perpetuate his name, and the land round York, known transiently as Gorgeana, became as good a city as seals and parchment, a nominal mayor and aldermen, chancery court and court-leet, sergeants and white rods, can make of a town of less than three hundred inhabitants and its petty officers. Yet the nature of Gorges was generous, and his piety sincere. He sought pleasure in doing good; fame, by advancing Christianity among the heathen; a durable monument, by erecting houses, villages, and towns. The contemporary and friend of Raleigh, he adhered to schemes in America for almost half a century; and, long after he became convinced of their unproductiveness, was still bent on plans of colonization, at an age when other men are but preparing to die with decorum. Firmly attached to the monarchy, he never disobeyed his king, except that, as a churchman and a Protestant, he refused to serve against the Huguenots. When the wars in England broke out, the septuagenarian royalist buckled on his armor and gave his last strength to the defence of the unfortunate Charles. In America, his fortunes had met with a succession of untoward events. The patent for Lygonia had been purchased in 1643, by Rigby, a republican member of the Long Parliament; and a dispute ensued between the deputies of the respective proprietaries. In vain did Cleaves, the agent of Rigby, in 1644, solicit the assistance of Massachusetts; the colony warily refused to take part in the strife. Both aspirants now solicited the Bay magistrates to act as umpires. In June, 1645, the cause was learnedly argued in Boston, and the decree of the court was oracular. Neither party was allowed to have a clear right; and both were enjoined to live in peace. But how could Vines and Cleaves assert their authority? On the death of Gorges, the people repeatedly wrote to his heirs. No answer was received; and such commissioners as had authority from Europe gradually withdrew. There was no relief for the colonists but in themselves; and, in July, 1649, the inhabitants of Piscataqua, Gorgeana, and Wells, following the American precedent, with

free and unanimous consent formed themselves into a body politic for the purposes of self-government. Massachusetts readily offered its protection. In May, 1652, the great charter of the Bay company was unrolled before the general court in Boston; and, "upon perusal of the instrument, it was voted that this jurisdiction extends from the northernmost part of the river Merrimack, and three miles more, north, be it one hundred miles, more or lesse, from the sea; and then upon a straight line east and west to each sea." The words were precise. Nothing remained but to find the latitude of a point three miles to the north of the remotest waters of the Merrimack, and to annex the territory of Maine which lies south of that parallel; for the grant to Massachusetts was prior to the patents under which Rigby and the heirs of Gorges had been disputing. The "engrasping" Massachusetts promptly despatched commissioners to the eastward to settle the government. The remonstrances of the loyalist Edward Godfrey, then governor of the province, were disregarded; and one town after another, yielding in part to menaces and armed force, gave in its adhesion. Every man was confirmed in his possessions; the religious liberty of the Episcopalians was unharmed; the privileges of citizenship were extended to all inhabitants; and the eastern country gradually, yet reluctantly, submitted to the change. When, in 1656, the claims of the proprietaries were urged before Cromwell, many inhabitants of the towns of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, yet not a majority, remonstrated. To sever them from Massachusetts would be to them "the subverting of all civil order." By following the most favorable interpretation of its charter, Massachusetts extended its frontier to the islands in Casco bay.

In 1644, the year after the confederation of the four Calvinist colonies, the government of Massachusetts was brought nearer to its present form. The discontent of the deputies at the separate negative of the assistants came to its height, when, on an appeal to the general court, the assistants and the deputies sitting together reversed a decision of the lower court, and the assistants, by their separate act, immediately restored it. The time had come for a change; but, instead of the old

proposition to take from the magistrates their negative, and so introduce the system of one irresponsible, absolute chamber, better thoughts arose; and, "as the groundwork for government and order in the issuing of business of greatest and highest consequence," it was agreed that the magistrates and deputies should sit in separate chambers, each of which should have the right to originate orders and laws, and each have a negative on the acts of the other. So far the form of the Massachusetts government was established as it now exists; but as yet no separate negative was allowed to the governor.

With the increase of English freedom, the dangers which had menaced Massachusetts appeared to pass away; its government began to adventure on a more lenient policy; the sentence of exile against Wheelwright was rescinded; a proposition was made to extend the franchises of the company to those who were not church members, provided "a civil agreement among all the English could be formed" for asserting the common liberty. For this purpose, letters were written to the confederated states; but the want of concert defeated the plan. The law which, nearly at the same time, threatened obstinate Anabaptists with exile, was not designed to be enforced. "Anabaptism," says Jeremy Taylor, in his famous argument for liberty, "is as much to be rooted out as anything that is the greatest pest and nuisance to the public interest." The fathers of Massachusetts reasoned more mildly. The dangers apprehended from some wild and turbulent spirits, "whose conscience and religion seemed only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us"—such was their language in 1646—"to provide for our safety by a law, that all such should take notice how unwelcome they should be unto us, either comeing or staying. But for such as differ from us only in judgment, and live peaceably amongst us, such have no cause to complain; for it hath never beene as yet putt in execution against any of them, although such are known to live amongst us." Even two of the presidents of Harvard College were Anabaptists.

While dissenters were thus treated with an equivocal toleration, no concessions were made toward the government in England. It was the creed of even the most loyal deputy,

that, "if the king, or any party from him, should attempt anything against this commonwealth," it was the common duty "to spend estate, and life, and all, without scruple, in its defence;" that, "if the parliament itself should hereafter be of a malignant spirit, then, if the colony have strength sufficient, it may withstand any authority from thence to its hurt." Massachusetts called itself "a perfect republic." Nor was the expression a vain boast. The commonwealth, by force of arms, preserved in its harbors a neutrality between the ships of the opposing English factions; and the law, which placed death as the penalty on any "attempt at the alteration of the frame of polity fundamentally," was well understood to be aimed at those who should assert the supremacy of the English parliament. The establishment of a mint, in 1652, was an exercise of sovereignty. The silver shilling, stamped with the image of a pine-tree, was largely coined.

Whilst the public mind was agitated with discussions on liberty of conscience and independence of English jurisdiction, the community, in this infancy of popular government, was disturbed with a third "great question about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people."

The oldest dispute in the colony was of 1632, and related to the limits of the authority of the governor. In 1634, on occasion of dividing the town lands, "men of the inferior sort were chosen" in Boston. Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, maintained that treaties should not be made without consulting the commons. The doctrine of rotation in office was asserted in 1639, even to the neglect of Winthrop, "lest there should be a governor for life." Like symptoms broke out in the next five years. When one of the elders proposed that the place of governor should be held for life, the deputies immediately resolved that no magistrate of any kind should be elected for more than a year. The magistrates once nominated several persons for office; and every one of their candidates was rejected. On the other hand, when one of the ministers attempted to dissuade the freemen from choosing the same officers twice in succession, they disliked the interference of the adviser more than they loved the doctrine of frequent change, and re-elected the old magistrates almost without ex-

ception. The condition of a new colony which discarded the legislation of the mother country necessarily left many things to the opinions of the executive. The people were loud in demanding a government of law, and not of discretion. No sooner had Winthrop pleaded against the establishment of an exact penalty for every offence—because justice, not less than mercy, imposed the duty of regulating the punishment by the circumstances of the case—than they raised the cry of arbitrary power, and refused the hope of clemency, when it was to be obtained from the capricious judgments of a magistrate. The authority exercised by the assistants during the intervals between the sessions became a subject of apprehension. A majority of the deputies proposed to substitute a joint commission. The proposition being declined as inconsistent with the patent, they then desired to reserve the question for further deliberation. When to this it was answered that, in the mean time, the assistants would act according to the power and trust which they claimed by the charter, the deputies rejoined, by their speaker, Hawthorne: "You will not be obeyed."

In 1645, the popular party felt a consciousness of so great strength as to desire a struggle with its opponents. The opportunity could not long be wanting. The executive magistrates, accustomed to tutelary vigilance over the welfare of the towns, had set aside a military election in Hingham. There had been, perhaps, in the proceedings, sufficient irregularity to warrant the interference. The affair came before the general court. "Two of the magistrates and a small majority of the deputies were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power, and that the people's liberty was thereby in danger; while nearly half the deputies, and all the rest of the magistrates, judged that authority was over-much slighted, which, if not remedied, would endanger the commonwealth and introduce a mere democracy." The two branches being at variance, a reference to the arbitration of the elders was proposed. But "to this the deputies would by no means consent; for they knew that many of the elders were more careful to uphold the honor and power of the magistrates than themselves well liked of."

The root of the disturbance at Hingham existed in "a presbyterial spirit," which opposed the government of the colonial commonwealth. Some of those who pleaded the laws of England against the charter and the administration in Massachusetts had been committed by Winthrop, then deputy governor, for contempt of the established authority. It was proposed to procure their release by his impeachment. Hitherto the enemies of the state had united with the popular party, and both had assailed the charter as the basis of magisterial power; the former with the view of invoking the interposition of England, the latter in the hope of increasing popular liberty. But the citizens would not, even in the excitement of political divisions, wrong the purest of their leaders, and the factious elements were rendered harmless by decomposition. Winthrop appeared at the bar only to triumph in his acquittal, while his false accusers were punished by fines. "Civil liberty," said the noble-minded man, in "a little speech" on resuming his seat upon the bench, "is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it. It is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for with the hazard not only of your goods, but, if need be, of your lives. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof."

It now became possible to adjust the long-continued difference by a compromise. The power of the magistrates over the militia was diminished by law; but though the magistrates themselves were by some declared to be but public servants, holding "a ministerial office," and though it became a favorite idea that all authority resides essentially with the people in their body representative, yet the Hingham disturbers were punished by heavy fines, while Winthrop and his friends retained the affectionate confidence of the colony.

The court of Massachusetts was ready to concede the enjoyment of religious worship under Presbyterian forms; yet its discontented enemies, defeated in their hope of a union with the popular party, determined to rally on the principle of liberty of conscience, which had been rapidly making progress. Many books had come from England in defence of toleration. Many of the court were well inclined to suspend the

laws against Anabaptists, and the order subjecting strangers to the supervision of the magistrates; and Winthrop thought that "the rule of hospitality required more moderation and indulgence." In Boston, a powerful liberal party already openly existed; but the apparent purpose of advancing religious freedom was made to disguise measures of the deadliest hostility to the frame of civil government. The nationality of New England was in danger. William Vassal, of Scituate, was the chief of the "busy and factious spirits, always opposite to the civil governments of the country and the way of its churches;" and, at the same time, through his brother, a member of the Long Parliament and of the commission for the colonies, he possessed influence in England.

The new party desired to subvert the charter government, and introduce a general governor from England. They endeavored to acquire strength by rallying all the materials of opposition. The friends of Presbyterianism were soothed by hopes of a triumph; the democratic party was assured that the government should be more popular; while the penurious were provoked by complaints of unwise expenditures and intolerable taxations. But the people refused to be deceived; the petition to the general court for redress of grievances had with difficulty obtained the signatures of seven men, and of these some were sojourners in the colony, who desired only an excuse for appealing to England. Written in a spirit of wanton insult, it introduced every topic that had been made the theme of party discussion, and asserted that there existed in the country no settled form of government according to the laws of England. A thorough reformation was demanded; "if not," add the remonstrants, "we shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to both houses of parliament;" and in the English parliament Presbyterianism was become the ruling power.

In 1646, Gorton carried his complaints to the mother country, and, though unaided by personal influence or by powerful friends, succeeded in all his wishes. At this juncture, an order respecting his claims arrived in Boston, and was couched in terms which involved an assertion of the right of parliament to reverse the decisions and control the government of Massa-

chusetts. Had the Long Parliament revoked the patent of Massachusetts, the Stuarts, on their restoration, would have found not one chartered government in the colonies, and the tenor of American history would have been changed. The people rallied with great unanimity in support of their magistrates. A law had been drawn up conferring on all residents equal power in town affairs, and enlarging the constituency of the state. It was deemed safe to defer the enactment till the present controversy should be settled; the order against Anabaptists was left unrepealed; and, notwithstanding strong opposition from the friends of toleration in Boston, it was resolved to convene a synod to give counsel on the permanent settlement of the ecclesiastical polity.

In November, 1646, the general court assembled for the discussion of the usurpations of parliament and the dangers from domestic treachery. The elders did not fail to attend in the hour of gloom. One faithless deputy was desired to withdraw; and then, with closed doors, that the consultation might remain in the breast of the court, the nature of the relation with England was made the subject of debate. After much deliberation, it was agreed that Massachusetts owed to England the same allegiance as the free Hanse Towns had rendered to the empire; as Normandy, when its dukes were kings of England, had paid to the monarchs of France. It was resolved not to accept a new charter from the parliament, for that would imply a surrender of the old. Besides, parliament granted none but by way of ordinance which the king might one day refuse to confirm, and always made for itself an express reservation of "a supreme power in all things." The elders, after a day's consultation, confirmed the decision: "If parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties."

The colony then proceeded to exercise the independence which it claimed. The general court summoned the disturbers of the public security into its presence. Robert Childe and his companions appealed to the commissioners in England. The appeal was not admitted. "The charter," he urged, "does but create a corporation within the realm, subject to English laws." "Plantations," replied the court, "are above the rank

of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths. It is the fruit of pride and folly to despise the day of small things."

To the parliament of England which was then Presbyterian, the legislature remonstrated against any assertion of the paramount authority of that body in these words:

"An order from England is prejudicial to our chartered liberties, and to our well-being in this remote part of the world. Times may be changed; for all things here below are subject to vanity, and other princes or parliaments may arise. Let not succeeding generations have cause to lament and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries; and yet these liberties were lost in the season when England itself recovered its own. We rode out the dangers of the sea: shall we perish in port? We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government. These considerations are not new to the high court of parliament, the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great council, who, in those times of darkness when they acknowledged a supremacy in the Roman bishops in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome.

"The wisdom and experience of that great council, the English parliament, are more able to prescribe rules of government and judge causes than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up; yet the vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influences. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be useful to us, or safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it.

"Continue your favorable aspect to these infant plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your

shadow, and be there still nourished with the warmth and dews of heaven. Confirm our liberties; discountenance our enemies, the disturbers of our peace under pretence of our injustice. A gracious testimony of your wonted favor will oblige us and our posterity."

In the same spirit, Edward Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts in England, publicly denied that the jurisdiction of parliament extended to America. "If the parliament of England should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." In the Long Parliament, the doctrine of colonial equality was received with favor. "Sir Henry Vane, though he might have taken occasion against the colony for some dishonor which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him there, yet showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." In 1647, after ample deliberation, the committee of parliament magnanimously replied: "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."

Hardly five-and-twenty persons could be found in Massachusetts to join in a complaint against the strictness of the government; and when the discontented introduced the dispute into the elections, their candidates were routed.

The people and the elders were in harmony; and the relation of the church to the state was now more elaborately inwrought into the laws. The synod which first convened at Cambridge, in September, 1646, after two adjournments and nearly two years of reflection, framed what they called a "Platform of church discipline gathered out of the word of God." In the main, it upheld the principle of the independence of each church; but it suffered councils, composed of elders and other messengers of churches, to advise, to admonish, and to withhold fellowship from, a church, but not to exercise censures in the way of discipline, nor any act of authority or jurisdiction. If any church should rend itself from the communion of the other churches, none but the magistrate might put forth coercive power. The general court, to whom the Platform was

referred for consideration and acceptance, tardily submitted it to the judgment and approbation of the several churches within the jurisdiction. Not till October, 1651, did the legislature give their own testimony to this book of discipline, that in substance it was what "they had practised and did believe." In this way the Congregational churches of Massachusetts planted themselves between the government by presbyters on the one side, and the unconnected independence of each individual association on the other.

The Long Parliament asserted its power over the royalist colonies in general terms, which seemed alike to threaten the plantations of the north; and, after royalty was abolished, it invited Massachusetts to receive a new patent, and to hold courts and issue warrants in its name. But the men of that commonwealth were too wary to merge their rights in the acts of a government which, as they saw, was passing away. In a public state paper, they refused to submit to its requisitions, and yet never carried their remonstrance beyond the point which their charter appeared to them to warrant.

In 1651, after the successes of Cromwell in Ireland, he offered the inhabitants of New England estates and a settlement in the island. His offers were declined; for the emigrants loved their land of refuge, where their own courage and toils had established "the liberties of the gospel in its purity." Our government, they said among themselves, "is the happiest and wisest this day in the world."

The war which was carried on, from 1651 to 1654, between England and Holland, hardly disturbed the tranquillity of the colonies. The western settlements, which would have suffered extreme misery from a combined attack of the Indians and the Dutch, were earnest for attempting to reduce New Amsterdam, and thus to carry the boundary of New England to the Delaware. At a meeting of the commissioners at Boston, three of the four united colonies declared for war; yet the dissentient Massachusetts interposed delay; cited the opinions of its elders that "it was most agreeable to the gospel of peace and safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword;" and at last refused to be governed by the decision. The refusal was a plain breach of covenant, and led to earnest remonstrance and

altercations. The nature of the reserved rights of the members of the confederacy became the subject of animated discussion; and the union would have come to an end had not Massachusetts receded, though tardily, from her interpretation of the articles; but in the mean time the occasion for war with Manhattan had passed away.

In 1654, a ship which had a short passage brought word that the European republics had composed their strife, before the English fleet, which was sent against New Netherland, reached America. There was peace between England and France; yet the English forces, turning to the north, made the easy conquest of Acadia, an acquisition which no remonstrance or complaint could induce the protector to restore.

The inhabitants of New England were satisfied that Cromwell's battles were the battles of the Lord; and "the spirits of the brethren were carried forth in faithful and affectionate prayers in his behalf." Cromwell, in return, confessed to them that the battle of Dunbar, where "some, who were godly," were fought into their graves, was, of all the acts of his life, that on which his mind had the least quiet; and he declared himself "truly ready to serve the brethren and the churches" in America. The declaration was sincere. The people of New England were ever sure that Cromwell would listen to their requests, and would take an interest in the details of their condition. He left them independence, and favored their trade. The American colonies remember the years of his power as the period when British sovereignty was for them free from rapacity, intolerance, and oppression. He may be called the benefactor of the English in America; for in his time they enjoyed freedom of industry, of commerce, of religion, and of government.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PLACE OF PURITANISM IN HISTORY.

Yet the Puritans of New England perceived that their security rested on the personal character of the protector, and that other revolutions were ripening; they, therefore, never allowed their vigilance to be lulled. With the influence of the elders, the spirit of independence was confirmed; but the evils ensued that are in some measure inseparable from a religious establishment; the severity of the laws was sharpened against infidelity and against dissent.

Saltonstall wrote from Europe that, but for their severities, the people of Massachusetts would have been "the eyes of God's people in England." Sir Henry Vane, in 1651, had urged that "the oppugners of the Congregational way should not, from its own principles and practice, be taught to root it out." "It were better," he added, "not to censure any persons for matters of a religious concernment." The elder Winthrop relented before his death, and professed himself weary of banishing heretics; the younger Winthrop never harbored a thought of intolerant cruelty; but the rugged Dudley was not mellowed by old age. "God forbid," said he, "our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors. I die no libertine." "Better tolerate hypocrites and tares than thorns and briers," affirmed Cotton. "Polypiety," echoed Ward, "is the greatest impiety in the world. To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance." "Religion," said the melancholic Norton, "admits of no eccentric motions." But Massachusetts was in the state of transition when expiring bigotry exhibited its worst aspect.

In 1651, John Clarke, the tolerant Baptist of Rhode Island,

one of the purest and most disinterested patriots, as he began to preach to a small audience in Lynn, was seized by the civil officers. Being compelled to attend public worship with the congregation of the town, he expressed his aversion by an indecorum, which would have been without excuse had his presence been voluntary. He and his companions were tried, and condemned to pay fines of twenty or thirty pounds; one of them, who refused to pay, was whipped unmercifully.

Since a particular form of worship had become a part of the civil establishment, irreligion was a civil offence. Treason against the civil government was treason against Christ; and reciprocally, as the gospel had the right paramount, blasphemy, or what a jury should call blasphemy, was the highest offence in the catalogue of crimes. To deny any book of the Old or New Testament to be the written and infallible word of God was punishable by fine or by stripes, and, in case of obstinacy, by exile or death. Absence from "the ministry of the word" was punished by a fine.

By degrees the spirit of the establishment began to subvert the fundamental principles of independency. The liberty of prophesying was refused, except the approbation of four elders, or of a county court, had been obtained. The union of church and state was fast corrupting both. In 1658, the general court claimed for itself, for the council, and for any two organic churches, the right of silencing any person who was not as yet ordained. The uncompromising Congregationalists of Massachusetts indulged the passions of their English persecutors.

The early Quakers in New England appeared like a motley tribe of persons—half fanatic, half insane, and without definite purposes. Persecution called them forth to show what intensity of will can dwell in the depths of the human heart.

In the month of July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in the road before Boston. There was as yet no statute respecting Quakers; but, on the general law against heresy, their trunks were searched and their books burnt by the hangman; "though no token could be found on them but of innocence," their persons were examined in search of signs of

witchcraft; and, after five weeks' close imprisonment, they were thrust out of the jurisdiction. During the year, eight others were sent back to England. Mary Fisher repaired alone to Adrianople, and delivered a message to the Grand Sultan. The Turks thought her crazed, and she passed through their army "without hurt or scoff."

The next year, although a special law had prohibited the introduction of Quakers, Mary Dyar, an Antinomian exile, and Ann Burden, came into the colony; the former was claimed by her husband, and taken to Rhode Island; the latter was sent to England. A woman who had come all the way from London to warn the magistrates against persecution, was whipped with twenty stripes. Some, who had been banished, came a second time; they were imprisoned, whipped, and once more sent away, under penalty of further punishment if they returned again. A fine was imposed on such as should entertain any "of the accursed sect." A payment of ten shillings was the penalty for being present at a Quaker meeting, of five pounds for speaking at such a meeting. In the execution of the laws, the pride of consistency involved the magistrates in acts of extreme cruelty. But Quakers swarmed where they were feared. They came expressly because they were not welcome, and threats were construed as invitations.

In 1658, the government of Massachusetts resolved to follow the advice of the commissioners for the United Colonies, from which the younger Winthrop alone had dissented. Willing that the Quakers should live in peace in any other part of the wide world, yet desiring effectually to deter them from coming within its jurisdiction, the general court, after much resistance, and by a majority of but a single vote, banished them on pain of death. "For the security of the flock," said Norton, "we pen up the wolf; but a door is purposely left open whereby he may depart at his pleasure." Vain legislation! and frivolous apology! The soul, by its freedom and immortality, preserves its convictions or its frenzies amidst the threat of death.

It is true that some of the Quakers were extravagant and foolish; they cried out from the windows at the magistrates

and ministers that passed by, and mocked the civil and religious institutions of the country. They riotously interrupted public worship; and women, forgetting the decorum of their sex, and claiming a scriptural precedent for their caprices, smeared their faces, and even went naked through the streets.

Prohibiting the coming of Quakers was not persecution; and banishment is a term hardly to be used of one who has not acquired a home. The magistrates of Massachusetts left all in peace but the noisy brawlers, and left to them the opportunity of escape. The four, of whose death New England was guilty, fell victims rather to the contest of will than to the opinion that Quakerism was a capital crime.

In September, 1659, of four persons ordered to depart the jurisdiction on pain of death, Mary Dyar, a firm disciple of Anne Hutchinson whose exile she had shared, and Nicholas Davis, obeyed. Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson had come on purpose to offer their lives; instead of departing, they went from place to place "to build up their friends in the faith." In October, Mary Dyar returned. These three persons were arraigned on the sanguinary law. Robinson pleaded in his defence the special message and command of God. "Blessed be God, who calls me to testify against wicked and unjust men." Stephenson refused to speak till sentence had been pronounced; and then he imprecated a curse on his judges. Mary Dyar exclaimed: "The will of the Lord be done;" and returned to the prison "full of joy." From the jail she wrote a remonstrance. "Were ever such laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? Have you no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it?" The three were led forth to execution. "I die for Christ," said Robinson. "We suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake," were the last words of his companion. Mary Dyar was reprieved; yet not till the rope had been fastened round her neck, and she had prepared herself for death. Transported with enthusiasm, she exclaimed: "Let me suffer as my brethren, unless you annul your wicked law." She was conveyed out of the colony; but, soon returning, she was hanged on Boston common.

These cruelties excited great discontent. Yet William Leddra was arraigned for the same causes. While the trial was proceeding, Wenlock Christison, already banished on pain of death, entered the court, and struck dismay into the judges, who found their severities ineffectual. Leddra was desired to accept his life, on condition of promising to come no more within the jurisdiction. He refused, and was hanged.

Christison met his persecutors with undaunted courage. "By what law," he demanded, "will ye put me to death?" "We have a law," it was answered, "and by it you are to die." "So said the Jews to Christ. But who empowered you to make that law?" "We have a patent, and may make our own laws." "Can you make laws repugnant to those of England?" "No." "Then you are gone beyond your bounds. Your heart is as rotten toward the king as toward God. I demand to be tried by the laws of England, and there is no law there to hang Quakers." "The English banish Jesuits on pain of death; and with equal justice we may banish Quakers." The jury returned a verdict of guilty. The magistrates were divided in pronouncing sentence; the vote was put a second time, and there appeared a majority for the doom of death. "What do you gain," cried Christison, "by taking Quakers' lives? For the last man that ye put to death, here are five come in his room. If ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten of his servants in my stead."

The people were averse to taking Quakers' lives; the magistrates, infatuated for a season, became convinced of their error; Christison, with twenty-seven of his friends, was discharged from prison; and the doctrine of toleration, with pledges of peace, was soon to be received.

The victims of intolerance met death bravely; they would be entitled to perpetual honor were it not that their own mad extravagances occasioned the foul enactment, to repeal which they laid down their lives. Causes were already in action which were fast substituting the charity of intelligence for bigotry. It was ever the custom, and, in 1642, it became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable

them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," in 1647 it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to read and write; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning." Harvard College was a favorite from its beginning; Connecticut and Plymouth, and the towns in the east, often contributed offerings to promote the success of that "school of the prophets;" the gift of the rent of a ferry was a proof of the care of the state; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelvepence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampum peag; while the magistrates and wealthier men were profuse in their liberality. The college, in return, assisted in forming the early character of the country. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the ordinance of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they could preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons. They would not allow Christmas to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns, by the names common in England; they revived scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors were denied; the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their

own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. The Puritans were formal and precise in their manners; singular in the forms of their legislation. Every topic of the day found a place in their extemporaneous prayers, and infused a stirring interest into their long and frequent sermons. The courts of Massachusetts respected in practice the code of Moses; in New Haven, the members of the constituent committee were called the seven pillars, hewn out for the house of wisdom. But these are only forms, which gave to the new faith a marked exterior. If from the outside peculiarities we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism had two cardinal principles: Faith in the absolute sovereignty of God, whose will is perfect right; and the Equality of all who believe that his will is to be done. It was Religion struggling in, with, and for the People; a war against tyranny and superstition. "Its absurdities," says one of its scoffers, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude; the good was permanent; the outward emblems, which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration, like the clay and ligaments which hold the graft in its place, and are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

The principles of Puritanism proclaimed the civil magistrate subordinate to the authority of religion; and its haughtiness in this respect has been compared to "the infatuated arrogance" of a Roman pontiff. In the firmness with which their conviction was held, the Puritans did not yield to the Catholics; and, if the will of God is the criterion of justice, both were, in one sense, in the right. The question arises, Who shall be the interpreter of that will? In the Roman Catholic Church, the office was claimed by the infallible pontiff, who, as the self-constituted guardian of the oppressed, insisted on the power of dethroning kings, repealing laws, and subverting dynasties. The principle thus asserted could not but become subservient to the temporal ambition of the clergy.

Puritanism conceded no such power to its spiritual guides; the church existed independent of its pastor, who owed his office to its free choice; the will of the majority was its law; and each one of the brethren possessed equal rights with the elders. The right, exercised by each congregation, of electing its own ministers was in itself a moral revolution; religion was now with the people, not over the people. Puritanism exalted the laity. Every individual who had experienced the raptures of devotion, every believer, who in moments of ecstasy had felt the assurance of the favor of God, was in his own eyes a consecrated person, chosen to do the noblest and godliest deeds. For him the wonderful counsels of the Almighty had appointed a Saviour; for him the laws of nature had been suspended and controlled, the heavens had opened, earth had quaked, the sun had veiled his face, and Christ had died and had risen again; for him prophets and apostles had revealed to the world the oracles and the will of God. Before Heaven he prostrated himself in the dust; looking out upon mankind, how could he but respect himself, whom God had chosen and redeemed? He cherished hope; he possessed faith; as he walked the earth, his heart was in the skies. Angels hovered round his path, charged to minister to his soul; spirits of darkness vainly leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance. His burning piety could use no liturgy; his penitence revealed itself to no confessor. He knew no superior in holiness. He could as little become the slave of priestcraft as of a despot. He was himself a judge of the orthodoxy of the elders; and, if he feared the invisible powers of the air, of darkness, and of hell, he feared nothing on earth. Puritanism constituted not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will; and the issue of Puritanism was popular sovereignty.

The effects of Puritanism display its character still more distinctly. Ecclesiastical tyranny is of all kinds the worst; its fruits are cowardice, idleness, ignorance, and poverty: Puritanism was a life-giving spirit; activity, thrift, intelligence, followed in its train; and, as for courage, a coward and a Puritan never went together.

The history of religious persecution in New England is this:

the Puritans established a government in America such as the laws of natural justice warranted, and such as the statutes and common law of England did not warrant; and that was done by men who still acknowledged a limited allegiance to the parent state. The Episcopalians declared themselves the enemies of the party, and waged against it a war of extermination; Puritanism excluded them from its asylum. Roger Williams, the apostle of "soul-liberty," weakened civil independence by impairing its unity; and he was expelled, even though Massachusetts bore good testimony to his spotless virtues. Wheelwright and his friends, in their zeal for liberty of speech, were charged with forgetting their duty as citizens, and they also were exiled. The Anabaptist, who could not be relied upon as an ally, was watched as possibly a foe. The Quakers denounced the worship of New England as an abomination, and its government as treason; and they were excluded on pain of death. The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; and, in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was his most faithful counsellor and his never-failing support.

For "New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade. The profession of the purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline was written on her forehead." "We all," says the confederacy in one of the two oldest of American written constitutions, "came into these parts of America to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace." "He that made religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, had not the spirit of a true New England man." Religion was the object of the emigrants, and it was their consolation. With this the wounds of the outcast were healed, and the tears of exile sweetened.

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a skeptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from the thraldom to observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. They stood in prayer. To them the elements remained but wine and bread, and in communing they

would not kneel. They invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more sacred than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren just as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of skeptical consideration; and, in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England. Dark crimes, that seemed without a motive, may have been pursued under that name; I find one record of a trial for witchcraft where the prisoner was proved a murderess.

On every subject but religion the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation. The habits of the young promoted real chastity. The sexes lived in social intimacy, and were more pure than the recluse. Marriage was a civil contract; and under the old charter of Massachusetts all controversies respecting it were determined by the court of assistants which decreed divorces especially for adultery or desertion. The rule in Connecticut was not different. Separation from bed and board without the dissolution of the marriage, an anomaly which may punish the innocent more than the guilty, was abhorrent to every thought of that day. The sanctity of the nuptial vow was protected by the penalty of death. If in this respect the laws were more severe, in another they were more lenient than modern manners approve. The girl whom youth and affection and the promise of marriage betrayed into weak-

ness was censured, pitied, and forgiven; the law compelled the seducer of innocence to marry the person who had imposed every obligation by the concession of every right. The law implies an extremely pure community; in no other could it have found a place in the statute-book.

The benevolence of the Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued; the law was severe against the undutiful child; and it was severe against a faithless parent. Till 1654, the laws did not permit any imprisonment for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty toward animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a feeling for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and during the thirty years' war the people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their German brethren.

The earliest years of the residence of Puritans in America were years of great hardship and affliction; this short season of distress was promptly followed by abundance and happiness. The people struck root in the soil immediately. They were, from the first, industrious, enterprising, and frugal; and affluence followed of course. When persecution ceased in England, there were already in New England "thousands who would not change their place for any other in the world;" and they were tempted in vain with invitations to the Bahama isles, to Ireland, to Jamaica, to Trinidad. The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." As a consequence, the average duration of life in New England, compared with Europe of that day, was doubled; and, of all who were born into the world, more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

I have dwelt the longer on the character of the early

Puritans of New England, for they were the parents of one third the whole white population of the United States as it was in 1834. Within the first fifteen years—and there was never afterward any considerable increase from England—we have seen that there came over twenty-one thousand two hundred persons, or four thousand families. Their descendants were, in 1834, not far from four millions. Each family had multiplied, on the average, to one thousand souls. To New York and Ohio, where they then constituted half the population, they carried the Puritan system of free schools; and their example is spreading it through the civilized world.

Historians have loved to eulogize the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits, of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. If it had the sectarian crime of intolerance, chivalry had the vices of dissoluteness. The knights were brave from gallantry of spirit; the Puritans, from the fear of God. The knights obeyed the law of honor; the Puritans hearkened to the voice of duty. The knights were proud of loyalty; the Puritans, of liberty. The knights did homage to monarchs, in whose smile they beheld honor, whose rebuke was disgrace; the Puritans, in their disdain of ceremony, would not bow at the name of Jesus, nor bend the knee to the King of kings. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes; Puritanism bridled the passions, commanded the virtues of self-denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight and knowledge and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty.

The age of Puritanism was passing away. Time was silently softening its asperities, and the revolutions of England prepared an era in its fortunes. Massachusetts never acknowledged Richard Cromwell; it read in the aspect of parties the impending restoration.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AS COLONIES.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART II.

BRITISH AMERICA ATTAINS GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY.

FROM 1660 TO 1688.

CHAPTER I.

THE FALL AND RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

The revolution, which, in 1660, came to its end, had been in its origin a democratic revolution, and had apparently succeeded in none of its ultimate purposes. The power of the feudal aristocracy had been gradually broken by the increased authority of the monarch; and the people, beginning to claim the lead in the progress of humanity, prepared to contend for equality against privilege, as well as for freedom against prerogative. The contest failed, because too much was attempted. Immediate emancipation from the past was impossible; hereditary inequalities were themselves endeared to the nation, through the beneficent institutions with which they were connected; the mass of the people was still buried in listless ignorance; even for the strongest minds, public experience had not yet generated the principles by which a reconstruction of the government on a popular basis could have been safely undertaken; and thus the democratic revolution in England was a failure, alike from the events and passions of the fierce struggle which rendered moderation impossible, and from the unripeness of the age, which had not as yet acquired the political knowledge that time alone could generate or gather up.

Charles I. [1629–1640], inheriting his father's belief in the unlimited rights of the king of England, conspired against the national constitution, which he, as the most favored among the natives of England, was the most solemnly bound to protect; and he resolved to govern without the aid of a parliament. To convene one was therefore, in itself, an acknowledgment of defeat. The house of commons, which assembled in April, 1640, was filled with men not less loyal to the mon-

arch than faithful to the people; yet the king, offended by its firmness, disregarded the wishes of his more prudent friends, and capriciously dissolved a parliament more favorable to the crown than any which he could again hope for.

The exercise of absolute power became more and more difficult. There were those who refused to take the oath never to consent to alterations in the church of England. "Send for the chief leaders," wrote Strafford, "and lay them by the heels; no other satisfaction is to be thought of." But Strafford was not without his enemies among the royalists. During the suspension of parliament, two parties in the cabinet had disputed with each other for the emoluments of despotism. The ministers and the council of state were envied by the queen and the courtiers; and Strafford and Laud had as bitter rivals in the palace as they had enemies in the nation. There was no unity among the upholders of absolutism.

The expedient of a council of peers, convened in 1640 at York, could not satisfy a people that venerated representative government as the most valuable bequest of its ancestors; and a few weeks showed clearly that concession was necessary. The advisers of Charles hesitated from rivalries and the want of plan; while the popular leaders were full of energy and united in the distinct purpose of limiting the royal authority. The summons of a new parliament was, on the part of the monarch, a surrender at discretion. But, by the English constitution, the royal prerogative was in some cases the bulwark of popular liberty; the subversion of the royal authority made a way for the despotism of parliament.

The Long Parliament, which met on the third of November, 1640, was not originally homogeneous. The usurpations of the monarch threatened the privileges of the nobility not less than the liberties of the people. The movement in the public mind, though it derived its vigor as well as its origin from the influence of the Puritans, aimed only at raising an impassable barrier against the encroachments of royalty. This object met with favor from a majority of the peerage, and from royalists among the commons; and the past arbitrary measures of the court found opponents in Hyde, the faithful counsellor of the Stuarts; in the more scrupulous Falkland,

who inclined to the popular side, till he began to dread innovations from its leaders more than from the king; and even in Capel, afterward one of the bravest of the cavaliers, and a martyr on the scaffold for his obstinate fidelity. When the highest authority in England began to belong to the majority in parliament, no republican party as yet existed; the first division ensued between the ultra royalists and the undivided friends of constitutional monarchy; and, though the house was in a great measure filled with members of the aristocracy, the moderate royalists united with the friends of the people. On the choice of speaker, an immense majority appeared in favor of the constitution.

The earl of Strafford anticipated danger, and he desired to remain in Ireland. "As I am king of England," said Charles, "the parliament shall not touch one hair of your head;" and the reiterated urgency of the king compelled his attendance. His arraignment, within eight days of the commencement of the session, marks the spirit of the commons; his attainder was the sign of their ascendency. "On the honor of a king," wrote Charles, in April, 1641, to the prisoner, "you shall not be harmed in life, fortune, or honor;" and, the fourth day after the passage of the bill of attainder, the king sent his adhesion to the commons, adding: "If Strafford must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." Men dreaded the service of a sovereign whose love was so worthless, and whose prerogative was so weak; and the parliament proceeded without control to its work of reform. Its earliest acts were worthy of all praise. The liberties of the people were recovered and strengthened by appropriate safeguards; the arbitrary courts of high commission and the court of wards were broken up; the star-chamber, doubly hated by the aristocracy, as "ever a great eclipse to the whole nobility," was with one voice abolished; the administration of justice was rescued from the paramount influence of the crown; and taxation, except by consent, was forbidden. The principle of the writ of habeas corpus was introduced; and the kingdom of England was lifted out of the bondage of feudalism by a series of reforms, which were afterward renewed, and which, when successfully embodied among the statutes, the commentator on English law

esteemed above Magna Charta itself. These measures were adopted almost without opposition, and received the nearly unanimous assent of the nation. They were truly English measures, directed in part against abuses introduced at the Norman conquest, in part against the encroachments of the sovereign. They wiped away the traces that England had been governed as a conquered country; they were in harmony with the intelligence and the pride, the prejudices and the wants, of England. Public opinion was the ally of the parliament.

But an act declaring that the parliament should neither be prorogued nor dissolved, unless with its own consent, had been urged with pertinacity, till it received the royal concurrence. Parliament, in its turn, set aside the constitution, by establishing its own paramount authority, and making itself virtually irresponsible to its constituents. The usurpation foreboded the overthrow of the throne and the subjection of the people.

As the demands of the commons advanced, stormy debates ensued. In November, 1641, the remonstrance on the state of the kingdom, an uncompromising manifesto against the arbitrary measures of Charles, proposed no specific reform, but was rather a general and passionate appeal to popular opinion. The English mind was as restless as the waves of the ocean by which the isle is environed; the remonstrance was designed to increase that restlessness; in a house of more than five hundred members, it was adopted by the meagre majority of eleven. "Had it not been carried," said Cromwell to Falkland, "I should have sold all I possess, and left the kingdom; many honest men were of the same resolution." From the contest for "English liberties," men advanced to the discussion of natural rights; with the expansion of their views, their purposes ceased to be definite; reform was changing into a revolution; and it was observable that religious faith was on the side of innovation, while incredulity abounded among the supporters of the established church and the divine right.

The king had yielded where he should have been firm; moderation and sincerity would have restored his influence. But when, in January, 1642, attended by armed men, he repaired in person to the house of commons, with the intent of seizing six of the leaders of the patriot party, the attempt, so

bloody in its purpose and so illegal in its course, could only justify for the time every diminution of his prerogative, and drive the leaders of the popular party to a gloomy inflexibility. A change of dynasty was not then proposed; and England languished of a disease for which no cure had been discovered. It was evident that force must decide the struggle. The parliament demanded the control of the national militia with the possession of the fortified towns; to Charles no alternative remained but resistance or the surrender of all power; and, unfurling the royal standard, he began a civil war.

The contest was between a permanent parliament and an arbitrary king. The people had no mode of intervention except by serving in the armies; they could not act as mediators or as masters. The parliament was become a body, of which the duration depended on its own will, unchecked by a supreme executive or by an independent co-ordinate branch of legislation; and, therefore, of necessity, a multitudinous despot, unbalanced and irresponsible; levying taxes, enlisting soldiers, commanding the navy and the army, enacting laws, and changing at its will the forms of the English constitution. The issue was certain. Every representative assembly is swayed by the public interests, the pretensions of its own body, and the personal interests of its respective members; and never was the successive predominance of each of these sets of motives more clear than in the Long Parliament. Its first acts were mainly for its constituents, whose rights it vindicated and whose liberties it increased; its corporate ambition next asserted itself against the throne and the peerage, both of which it was hurried forward to subvert; individual selfishness at last prevailed.

In 1644, after one hundred and eighteen royalist members, obeying the summons of the king, repaired to Oxford, the friends of royalty and of the church of England were unrepresented in the national legislature. The commons at once divided into two imposing parties—the Presbyterians and the Independents; the friends of a revolution which should yet preserve a nobility, a limited monarchy, and a national church, and the friends of a revolution on the principle of equality.

The Presbyterians represented a powerful branch of the

aristocracy of England; they had a majority in the commons; the exclusive possession of what remained of the house of lords; the command of the army; and numerous and active adherents among the clergy. The English people favored them; Scotland was devoted to them; and they were at all times prepared to make peace with the king, if he would but accept Presbyterianism as the religion of the state.

The Independents could hope for superior influence only by rising above the commons, the peers, the commanders of the army, all Scotland, and the mass of the English people. They had no omen of success but the tendency of revolutions to go forward, the enthusiasm of converts for the newly accepted ideas, the inclination of the human mind to push principles to their remoter consequences. They gradually became the advocates of religious liberty and the power of the people; and the glorious vision of emancipating the commons of England from feudal oppression, from intellectual servitude, and from royalty itself, kindled a zeal which would not be rebuked by the inconsistency of their schemes with the opinions, habits, and institutions of the nation.

The Presbyterian nobility were unwilling that innovation should go so far as to impair their rank or diminish their grandeur; the Independents, as new men, who had their fortunes to make, were ready not only to subvert the throne, but to contend for equality against privilege. "The Presbyterian earl of Manchester," said Cromwell, "shall be content with being no more than plain Montague." The men who broke away from the forms of society, and venerated nothing but truth; others who, in the folly of their pride, claimed for their opinions the sanctity and the rights of truth; they who longed for a more equal diffusion of social benefits; the friends of entire liberty of conscience; the friends of a reform in the law and a diminution of the profits of the lawyers; the men, like Milton and Sidney, whose imagination delighted in pictures of Roman liberty; the less educated, who indulged in visions of a restoration of that happy Anglo-Saxon system which had been invented in the woods in days of Anglo-Saxon simplicity; the republicans, the levellers, the fanatics—all ranged themselves on the side of the new ideas.

The true representative of the better principles of the Independents was Henry Vane; their acknowledged leader was Oliver Cromwell. Was he sincere? It is difficult to disbelieve that he was imbued with the principles of Puritan reforms, and may have always thought himself faithful to the interest of England; as in his foreign policy he most certainly was. All great men incline to fatalism, for their success is a mystery to themselves; and it was not entirely with hypocrisy that Cromwell professed himself the servant of Providence, borne along by irresistible necessity.

Had peace never been broken, the Independents would have remained a powerless minority; the civil war gave them a rallying point in the army. In the season of great public excitement, fanatics crowded to the camp; an ardor for popular liberty mingled with the fervors of religious excitement. Cromwell had early perceived that the pride and valor of the cavaliers could never be overthrown by ordinary hirelings; he therefore sought to fill the ranks of his army with enthusiasts. His officers were alike ready to preach and pray, and to take the lead in the field of battle. With much hypocrisy, his camp was the scene of much real piety; and long afterward, when his army was disbanded, its members, who for the most part were farmers and yeomen and their sons, resumed their places in the industrious classes, while the soldiers of the royalists were often found among vagabonds and beggars. It was the troops of Cromwell that first, in the open field, broke the ranks of the royal squadrons; and the decisive victory of Marston Moor was won by their iron energy and valor.

The final overthrow of the prospects of Charles in the field, in 1647, marks the crisis of the struggle for the ascendent between the Presbyterians and Independents. The former had their organ in the parliament, the latter in the army, in which the Presbyterian commander had been surprised into a resignation by the self-denying ordinance and the intrigues of Cromwell. As the duration of the parliament depended on its own will, the army refused to be disbanded, claiming to represent the interests of the people, and actually constituting the only balance to the otherwise unlimited power of the parliament. The army could call the parliament a usurper,

and the parliament could arraign the army as a branch of the public service, whose duty was obedience, and not counsel. On the other hand, if the parliament pleaded its office as the grand council of the nation, the army could urge its merits as the active and successful antagonist to royal despotism.

The Presbyterians broke forth into menaces against the army. "These men," whispered Cromwell to Ludlow, "will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears." The Presbyterian majority appeared to possess paramount power, and did not possess it. Could they gain the person of the king, and succeed in pacific negotiations, their influence would be renewed by the natural love of order in the minds of the English people. A conflict with the Independents was unavoidable; for the Independents could in no event negotiate with the king. In every negotiation, a free parliament must have been a condition; and a free parliament would have been their doom. Self-preservation, uniting with ambition and wild enthusiasm, urged them to uncompromising hostility with Charles I. He or they must perish. "If my head or the king's must fall," argued Cromwell, "can I hesitate which to choose?" By an act of violence the Independents seized on the king, and held him in their special custody. "Now," said the exulting Cromwell, "now that I have the king in my hands, I have the parliament in my pocket."

At length the Presbyterian majority, sustained by the eloquence of Prynne, attempted to dispense with the army, and, by a decided vote, resolved to make peace with the king. To save its party from an entire defeat, in December, 1648, the army interposed, and "purged" the house of commons. "Hear us," said the excluded members to Colonel Pride, who expelled them. "I cannot spare the time," replied the soldier. "By what right are we arrested?" demanded they of the extravagant Hugh Peter. "By the right of the sword," answered the late envoy from Massachusetts. "You are called," said he, as he preached to the decimated parliament, "to lead the people out of Egyptian bondage; this army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about." Cromwell, the night after "the interruption," reiterated: "I knew nothing of these late pro

ceedings; but, since the work has been done, I am glad of it and will endeavor to maintain it."

When the winnowing of the house of commons was finished, there remained few beside republicans; and it was resolved to bring the unhappy monarch to trial before a special commission. "Providence and necessity," said Cromwell, affecting indecision, "have cast the house upon this deliberation. I shall pray God to bless our counsels." The young and sincere Algernon Sidney opposed, and saw the danger of a counter-revolution. "No one will stir," cried Cromwell impatiently: "I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown on it." Sidney withdrew; and Charles was abandoned to the sanguinary severity of a sect. To sign the death-warrant was a solemn deed, from which some of his judges were inclined to shrink; Cromwell concealed the magnitude of the act under an air of buffoonery; the chamber rung with gayety; he daubed the cheek of one of the judges that sat next him with ink, and, amidst shouts of laughter, compelled another, the wavering Ingoldsby, to sign the paper as a jest. The ambassadors of foreign princes presented no remonstrance; and, when the admirable collections of the unhappy king were sold at auction, they purchased his favorite works of art with rival eagerness. Holland alone negotiated. The English people were overawed.

Treason against the state, on the part of its highest officers, is the darkest of human offences. Fidelity to the constitution is due from every citizen; in a monarch, the debt is enhanced, for the monarch is the hereditary and special favorite of the fundamental laws. The murderer, even where his victim is eminent for mind and character, destroys what time will repair; and, deep as is his guilt, society suffers but transiently from the transgression. But the king who conspires against the liberties of the people conspires to subvert the most precious bequest of past ages, the dearest hope of future time; he would destroy genius in its birth and enterprise in its sources, and sacrifice the prolific causes of intelligence and virtue to his avarice or his vanity, his caprices or his ambition; would rob the nation of its nationality, the individual of the prerogatives of man; would deprive common

life of its sweets, by depriving it of its security, and religion of its power to solace, by subjecting it to supervision and control. His crime would not only enslave a present race of men, but forge chains for unborn generations. There can be no fouler deed.

Tried by the standard of his own intentions and his own actions, Charles I., it may be, had little right to complain. Yet, when history gives its impartial verdict on the execution, it remembers that the king was delivered, by a decimated parliament, which had prejudged his case, to a commission composed of his bitterest enemies, and erected in defiance of the wishes of the people. His judges were but a military tribunal; and the judgment, which assumed to be a solemn exercise of justice on the worst of criminals, arraigned by a great nation and tried by its representatives, was, in truth, an act of tyranny. His accusers could have rightfully proceeded only as the agents of the popular sovereignty; and the people disclaimed the deed. An appeal to them would have reversed the decision. The churchmen, the Presbyterians, the lawyers, the opulent landholders, the merchants, and the great majority of the English nation, preferred the continuance of a limited monarchy. There could be no republic. Not sufficient advancement had been made in political knowledge. Milton believed himself a friend of popular liberty; and defended the revocable nature of all conceded civil power; yet his scheme of government, which proposed to subject England to the executive authority of a self-perpetuating council, is ruinous to equal freedom. Not one of the proposed methods of government was practicable.

If the execution of Charles, on the thirtieth of January, 1649, be considered by the rule of utility, its effects will be found to have been entirely bad. A free parliament would have saved the king, and reformed church and state; in aiming at the immediate enjoyment of democratic liberty, the Independents of that day delayed popular enfranchisements. Nations change their institutions but slowly: to attempt to pass abruptly from feudalism and monarchy to democratic equality was the thought of enthusiasts, who understood neither the history, the character, nor the condition of the

country. It was like laying out into new streets a city already crowded with massive structures. The death of the king was the policy of Cromwell, and not the policy of the nation.

The remaining members of the commons were now by their own act constituted the sole legislature and sovereign of England. The peerage was abolished with monarchy; the connection between state and church rent asunder; but there was no republic. Selfish ambition forbade it; the state of society and the distribution and tenure of property forbade it. The commons usurped not only all powers of ordinary legislation, but even the right of remoulding the constitution. They were a sort of collective, self-constituted, perpetual dictatorship. Like Rome under its decemviri, England was enslaved by its legislators; English liberty had become the patrimony and estate of the commons; the forms of government, the courts of justice, peace and war, all executive, all legislative power, rested with them. They were irresponsible, absolute, and apparently never to be dissolved but at their own pleasure.

But the commons were not sustained by public opinion. They were resisted by the royalists and the Catholics, by the Presbyterians and the fanatics, by the honest republicans and the army. In Ireland, the Catholics dreaded from them the worst cruelties that Protestant bigotry could inflict. Scotland, almost unanimous in its adhesion to Presbyterianism, regarded with horror the rise of democracy and the triumph of the Independents; the fall of the Stuarts foreboded the overthrow of its independence; it loved liberty, but it loved its nationality. It feared the sovereignty of an English parliament, and desired the restoration of monarchy as a guarantee against the danger of being treated as a conquered province. In England, the opulent landholders, who swayed their ignorant dependants, rendered popular institutions impossible; and too little intelligence had as yet been diffused through the mass of the people to make them capable of taking the lead in the progress of civilization. The schemes of social and civil equality found no support but in the enthusiasm of the few who fostered them; and clouds of discontent gathered sullenly over the nation.

The attempt at a counter-revolution followed. But the

parties by which it was made, though they formed a vast majority of the three nations, were filled with mutual antipathies; the Catholics of Ireland had no faith in the Scottish Presbyterians; and these in their turn were full of distrust of the English cavaliers. They feared each other as much as they feared the commons. There could, therefore, be no concert of opposition; the insurrections, which, had they been made unitedly, would probably have been successful, were not simultaneous. The strength of the Independents lay in a small but well-disciplined army; the celerity and military genius of Cromwell ensured to them unity of counsels and promptness of action; they conquered their adversaries in detail; and the massacre of Drogheda, the field of Dunbar, and the victory of Worcester, destroyed the present hopes of the friends of monarchy.

The lustre of Cromwell's victories ennobled the crimes of his ambition. When the forces of the insurgents had been beaten down, there remained but two powers in the state—the Long Parliament and the army. To submit to a military despotism was inconsistent with the genius of the people of England; and yet the Long Parliament, now containing but a fraction of its original members, could not be recognised as the rightful sovereign of the country, and possessed only the shadow of executive power. Public confidence rested on Cromwell alone. The few true republicans had no party in the nation; a dissolution of the parliament would have led to anarchy; a reconciliation with Charles II., whose father had just been executed, was impossible; a standing army, it was argued, required to be balanced by a standing parliament; and the house of commons, the mother of the commonwealth, insisted on nursing the institutions which it had established. But the public mind reasoned differently; the virtual power rested with the army; men dreaded confusion, and yearned for peace; and they were pleased with the retributive justice that the parliament, which had destroyed the English king, should itself be subverted by one of its members.

Thus the effort at absolute monarchy on the part of Charles I. yielded to a constitutional, true English parliament; the control of parliament passed from the constitutional royalists to the Presbyterians, or representatives of a part of the

aristocracy opposed to Episcopacy; from the Presbyterians to the Independents, the enthusiasts for popular liberty; and, when the course of the revolution had outstripped public opinion, a powerful reaction gave the supreme authority to Cromwell. Sovereignty had escaped from the king to the parliament, from the parliament to the commons, from the commons to the army, and from the army to its successful commander. Each revolution was a natural and necessary consequence of its predecessor.

Cromwell was one whom even his enemies cannot name without acknowledging his greatness. The farmer of Huntingdon, accustomed only to rural occupations, unnoticed till he was more than forty years old, engaged in no higher plots than how to improve the returns of his land and fill his orchard with choice fruit, of a sudden became the best officer in the British army, and the greatest statesman of his time; overturned the English constitution, which had been the work of centuries; held in his own grasp the liberties which formed a part of the nature of the English people, and cast the kingdoms into a new mould. Religious peace, such as England till now has never again seen, flourished under his calm mediation; justice found its way even among the remotest Highlands of Scotland; commerce filled the English marts with prosperous activity; his fleets rode triumphant in the West Indies; Nova Scotia submitted to his orders without a struggle; the Dutch begged of him for peace as for a boon; Louis XIV. was humiliated; the Protestants of Piedmont breathed their prayers in security. His squadron made sure of Jamaica; he had strong thoughts of Hispaniola and Cuba; and, to use his own words, resolved "to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas." The glory of the English was spread throughout the world: "Under the tropic was their language spoke."

And yet his career was but an attempt to conciliate a union between his power and permanent public order; and the attempt was always unavailing, from the inherent impossibility growing out of the origin of his power. It was derived from the submission, not from the will, of the people; it came by the sword, not from the nation, nor from national usages.

Cromwell saw the impracticability of a republic, and offered no excuse for his usurpations but the right of the strongest to restore tranquillity—the plea of tyrants and oppressors from the beginning of the world. He had made use of the enthusiasm of liberty for his advancement; he sought to sustain himself by conciliating the most opposite sects. For the republicans, he had apologies: "The sons of Zeruiah, the lawyers, and the men of wealth, are too strong for us. If we speak of reform, they cry out that we design to destroy all property." To the witness of the young Quaker against priestcraft and war, he replied: "It is very good; it is truth; if THOU and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other." From the field of Dunbar he had charged the Long Parliament "to reform abuses, and not to multiply poor men for the benefit of the rich." Presently he appealed to the moneyed men and the lawyers: "he alone could save them from the levellers, men more ready to destroy than to reform." Did the sincere levellers, the true commonwealth's men, make their way into his presence, he assured them "he preferred a shepherd's crook to the office of protector; he would resign all power so soon as God should reveal his definite will;" and then he would invite them to pray. "For," said he one day to the poet Waller, "I must talk to these people in their own style." Did the passion for political equality blaze up in the breasts of the yeomanry, who constituted his bravest troops, it was checked by the terrors of a military execution. The Scotch Presbyterians could not be cajoled: he resolved to bow their pride; and did it in the only way in which it could be done, by wielding against their bigotry the great conception of the age, the doctrine of Roger Williams and Descartes, freedom of conscience. "Approbation," said he, as I believe, with sincerity of conviction, "is an act of conveniency, not of necessity. Does a man speak foolishly, suffer him gladly, for ye are wise. Does he speak erroneously, stop such a man's mouth with sound words, that cannot be gainsaid. Does he speak truly, rejoice in the truth." To win the royalists, he obtained an act of amnesty, a pledge of future favor to such of them as would submit. He courted the nation by exciting and gratifying national pride, by able

negotiations, by victory and conquest. He sought to enlist in his favor the religious sympathies of the people, by assuming for England a guardianship over the interests of Protestant Christendom.

Seldom was there a less scrupulous or more gifted politician than Cromwell. But he was no longer a leader of a party. He had no party. A party cannot exist except by the force of common principles; it is truth, and truth only, that of itself rallies men together. Cromwell, the oppressor of the Independents, had ceased to respect principles; his object was the advancement of his family; his hold on opinion went no farther than the dread of anarchy, and the strong desire for order. If moderate and disinterested men consented to his power, it was to his power as high constable, engaged to preserve the public peace. He could not confer on his country a fixed form of government, for that required a concert with the national affections, which he was never able to gain. He had clear notions of public liberty, and he understood how much the English people are disposed to honor their representatives. Thrice did he attempt to connect his usurpation with the forms of representative government, and always without success. His first parliament, convened in 1653, by special writ, and mainly composed of the members of the party by which he had been advanced, represented the movement in the English mind which had been the cause of the revolution. It indulged in pious ecstasies, laid claim to the enjoyment of the presence of Jesus Christ, and spent whole days in exhortations and prayers. But the delirium of mysticism was not incompatible with clear notions of policy; and, amid the hyperboles of Oriental diction, they prepared to overthrow despotic power by using the power a despot had conceded. The objects of this assemby were all democratic: it labored to effect a most radical reform; to codify English law, by reducing the huge volumes of the common law into a few simple English axioms; to abolish tithes; and to establish an absolute religious freedom, such as the United States now enjoy. This parliament has for ages been the theme of unsparing ridicule. Historians, with little generosity toward a defeated party, have sided against

the levellers; and the misfortune of failure in action has doomed them to censure and contempt. Yet they only demanded what had often been promised, and what, on the immutable principles of freedom, was right. They did but remember the truths which Cromwell had professed, and had forgotten. Fearing their influence, and finding the republicans too honest to become the dupes of his ambition, he induced such members of the house of commons as were his creatures to resign, and scattered the rest with his troops. The public looked on with much indifference, for the parliament, from the mode of its convocation, was unpopular; the royalists, the army, and the Presbyterians, alike dreaded its activity. With it expired the last feeble hope of a commonwealth. The successful soldier, at once and openly, pleading the necessity of the moment, assumed supreme power, as the highest peace-officer in the realm.

Cromwell next attempted an alliance with the property of the country. Affecting contempt for the regicide republicans, who, as his accomplices, could not forego his protection, he prepared to espouse the cause of the lawyers, the clergy, and the moneyed interest. Here, too, he was equally unsuccessful. The moneyed interest loves to exercise dominion, but submits to it reluctantly; and his second parliament, chosen, in 1654, on such principles of reform as rejected the rotten boroughs, and, limiting the elective franchise to men of considerable estate, made the house a representation of the wealth of the country, was equally animated by a spirit of stubborn defiance. It first resisted the decisions of the council of Cromwell on the validity of its elections, next vindicated freedom of debate, and, at its third sitting, called in question the basis of Cromwell's authority. "Have we cut down tyranny in one person, and shall the nation be shackled by another?" cried a republican. "Hast thou, like Ahab, killed and taken possession?" exclaimed a royalist. At the opening of this assembly, Cromwell, hoping for a majority, declared "the meeting more precious to him than life." The majority favored the Presbyterians, and secretly desired the restoration of the Stuarts. The protector dissolved them, saying: "The mighty things done among us are the revolutions of Christ

himself; to deny this is to speak against God." How highly the public mind was excited by this abrupt act of tyranny is evident from what ensued. The dissolution of the parliament was followed by Penruddoc's insurrection.

A third and final effort could not be adventured till the nation had been propitiated by naval successes, and victories over Spain had excited and gratified the pride of Englishmen and the zeal of Protestants. "The Red Cross," said Cromwell's admirers, "rides on the sea without a rival; our ready sails have made a covenant with every wind; our oaks are as secure on the billows as when they were rooted in the forest: to others the ocean is but a road; to the English it is a dwelling-place." The fleets of the protector returned rich with the spoils of Peru; and there were those who joined in adulation:

> His conquering head has no more room for bays:
> Let the rich ore forthwith be melted down,
> And the state fixed by making him a crown;
> With ermine clad and purple, let him hold
> A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold.

The question of a sovereign for England seemed but to relate to the Protector Cromwell and the army, or King Cromwell and the army; and, for the last time, Cromwell hoped, through a parliament, to reconcile his dominion to the English people, and to take a place in the line of English kings. For a season, the majority was not unwilling; the scruples of the more honest among the timid he overcame by levity. Our oath, he would say, is not against the three letters that make the word REX. "Royalty is but a feather in a man's cap; let children enjoy their rattle." But here his ambition was destined to a disappointment; the Presbyterians, ever his opponents, found on this point allies in many officers of the army; and Owen, afterward elected president of Harvard College, drafted for them an effectual remonstrance. In view of his own elevation, Cromwell had established an upper house, its future members to be nominated by the protector, in concurrence with the peers. But the wealth of the ancient hereditary nobility continued; its splendor was not yet forgotten; the new peerage, exposed to the contrast, excited ridicule without imparting strength; the house of commons continually spurned

at their power, and controverted their title. This parliament, of 1658, was dissolved. Unless Cromwell could exterminate the Catholics, convert the inflexible Presbyterians, chill the loyalty of the royalists, and corrupt the judgment of the republicans, he never could hope the cheerful consent of the British nation to the permanence of his government, which was well understood to be coextensive only with his life. He did not connect himself with the revolution, for he put himself above it, and controlled it; nor with the monarchy, for he was an active promoter of the execution of Charles; nor with the church, for he overpowered it; nor with the Presbyterians, for he barely tolerated their worship without gratifying their ambition. He rested on himself; his own genius and his own personal resources were the basis of his power. Having subdued the revolution, there was no firm obstacle but himself to the restoration of the Stuarts, of which his death was necessarily the signal.

The accession of Richard Cromwell, in September, 1658, met with no instant opposition. Like his father, he had no party in the nation; unlike his father, he had no capacity for public affairs. He met a parliament in January, 1659, but only to dissolve it; he could not control the army, and he could not govern England without the army. Involved in perplexities, he resigned. His accession had changed nothing; his abdication changed nothing; content to be the scoff of the proud, he acted upon the consciousness of his own incompetency, and, in the bosom of private life, remote from wars, from ambition, from power, he lived to extreme old age in the serene enjoyment of a gentle and modest temper. English politics went forward in their course.

The council of officers, the revival of the "interrupted" Long Parliament, the intrigues of Fleetwood and Desborough, the transient elevation of Lambert, were but a series of unsuccessful attempts to defeat the wishes of the people. Every new effort was soon a failure; and each successive failure did but expose the enemies of royalty to increased indignation and contempt. In vain did Milton forebode that, "of all governments, that of a restored king is the worst;" nothing could long delay the restoration. The fanaticism which had

made the revolution had burnt out, and was now a spent volcano.

Monk was at that time the commander of the English army in Scotland. Sir William Coventry, no mean judge of men, esteemed him a drudge; Lord Sandwich sneered at him plainly as a thick-skulled fool; and the more courteous Pepys paints him as "a heavy, dull man, who will not hinder business and cannot aid it." When Monk marched his army from Scotland into England, he was only the instrument of the restoration, not its author. Originally a soldier of fortune in the army of the royalists, he deserted his party, served against Charles I., and readily offered to Cromwell his support. Incapable of laying among the wrecks of the English constitution the foundations of a new creation of civil liberty, he now took advantage of circumstances to gratify his own passion for rank and fortune. He cared nothing for England, and therefore made terms only for himself. He held the Presbyterians in check, and, prodigal of perjuries to the last, he prevented the adoption of any treaty or binding compact between the returning monarch and the people.

Yet the want of such a compact could not restrain the determined desire of the people of England. All classes demanded the restoration of monarchy, as the only effectual guarantee of peace. The Presbyterians, hoping to gain favor by an early and effectual union with the royalists, contented themselves with a vague belief that the martyrdoms of Dunbar would never be forgotten; misfortunes and the fate of Charles I. were taken as sureties that Charles II. had learned moderation in the school of exile; and his return could have nothing humiliating, for it was the nation itself that recalled its sovereign. Every party that had opposed the dynasty of the Stuarts had failed in the attempt to give England a government; the constitutional royalists, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Long Parliament, the army, had all in their turn been unsuccessful; the English, preserving a latent zeal for their ancient liberties, were at the time carried away with a passionate enthusiasm for their hereditary king. The Long Parliament is reassembled; the Presbyterians, expelled before the trial of Charles, resume their

seats; and the parliament is dissolved, to be succeeded by a new assembly. The king's return is at hand. They who had been its tardiest advocates endeavor to throw oblivion on their hesitancy by the excess of loyalty; men vie with one another in eagerness for the restoration; no one of them is disposed to gain the certain ill-will of the monarch by proposing conditions which might not be seconded; they forget their country in their zeal for the king; they forget liberty in their eagerness to advance their fortunes; a vague proclamation on the part of Charles II., promising a general amnesty, fidelity to the Protestant religion, regard for tender consciences, and respect for the English laws, was the only pledge from the sovereign. And now that peace dawns, after twenty years of storms, all England was in ecstasy. Groups of men gathered round buckets of wine in the streets, and drank the king's health on their knees. The bells in every steeple rung merry peals; the bonfires round London were so numerous and brilliant that the city seemed encircled with a halo; and under a clear sky, with a favoring wind, the path of the exiled monarch homeward to the kingdom of his fathers was serene. As he landed on the soil of England, he was received by infinite crowds with all imaginable love. The shouting and general joy were past imagination. On the journey from Dover to London, the hillocks all the way were covered with people; the trees were filled; and such was the prodigality of flowers from maidens, such the acclamations from throngs of men, the whole kingdom seemed gathered along the roadsides. The companies of the city welcomed the king with loud thanks to God for his presence.

The tall and swarthy grandson of Henry IV. of France was of a disposition which, had he preserved purity of morals, would have made him one of the most amiable of men. It was his misfortune, in very early life, to have become thoroughly debauched in mind and heart; and adversity, the rugged nurse of virtue, made the selfish libertine more reckless. Attached to the faith of his mother, he had no purpose so seriously at heart as the restoration of the Catholic worship in England; but even this intention could not raise him above his natural languor. Did the English commons impeach Clarendon,

Charles II. could think of nothing but how to get the duchess of Richmond to court again. Was the Dutch war signalized by disasters, "the king did still follow his women as much as ever," and took more pains to reconcile the rival beauties of his court than to save his kingdom. He was incapable of steady application, read imperfectly, and, when drunk, was a good-natured, subservient fool. In the council of state, he played with his dog, never minding the business, or making a speech memorable only for its silliness; and, if he visited the naval magazines, "his talk was equally idle and frothy."

His bounty was that of facility, and left him to be "governed by the women and the rogues about him;" and his placable temper, incapable of strong revenge, was equally incapable of affection. He so loved present tranquillity that he signed the death-warrants of innocent men rather than risk disquiet, though of himself he was reluctant to hang any but republicans. "For God's sake, send for a Catholic priest," said he, on the last morning of his life, in the desire for absolution; but checked himself, lest he should expose the duke of York to danger. He pardoned all his enemies, no doubt sincerely. The queen sent to beg forgiveness for any offences. "Alas, poor woman, she beg my pardon!" he replied: "I beg hers with all my heart; take back to her that answer."

On the favor of this dissolute king of England depended the liberties of New England, where dissoluteness was held a crime and adultery punished by death on the gallows.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAVIGATION ACTS.

The republican revolution in England set in motion the ideas of popular liberty which the experience of happier ages was to devise ways of introducing into the political life of the nation. The swift and immoderate loyalty of the moment doomed the country to the necessity of a new revolution.

All the regicides that were caught would have perished but for Charles II., whom good nature led at last to exclaim: "I am tired of hanging, except for new offences." Haste was, however, made to despatch at least half a score, as if to appease the shade of Charles I.; and among the selected victims was Hugh Peter, once the minister of Salem, the father-in-law of the younger Winthrop; one whom Roger Williams honored and loved, and whom Milton is supposed to include among

> Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
> Would have been held in high esteem with Paul.

As a preacher, his homely energy resembled the directness of the earlier divines; in Salem he won general affection; he perseveringly strove to advance the interests and the industry of New England, and assisted in founding its earliest college. Monarchy and episcopacy he had repelled with fanatical passion, but was not a regicide. He could thank God for the massacres of Cromwell in Ireland; yet was benevolent, and would plead for the rights of the feeble and the poor. "Many godly in New England dared not condemn what he had done." In October, 1660, on his trial, he was allowed no counsel; and even false witnesses did not substantiate the specific charges urged against him. "Go home to New England, and trust God

there," were his last words to his daughter. To his friends he said: "Weep not for me; my heart is full of comfort;" and he smiled as he made himself ready to leave the world.

But it was not enough to punish the living; vengeance invaded the tombs. The corpses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were, by the order of both houses of parliament, and with the approbation of the king, disinterred, dragged on hurdles to Tyburn, and hanged at the three corners of the gallows. In the evening, they were cut down and beheaded, amidst the merriment of the cavaliers.

Of the judges of King Charles I., three escaped to America. Edward Whalley, who won laurels in the field of Naseby, always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell and remained a friend to the Independents, and William Goff, a firm friend to the family of Cromwell, a good soldier, but ignorant of the true principles of freedom, escaped to Boston. For nearly a year they resided unmolested within the limits of Massachusetts, publicly preached and prayed, and gained universal applause. When, in 1661, warrants arrived from England for their apprehension, they fled to New Haven, where it was esteemed a crime against God to bewray the wanderer or give up the outcast. They removed in secrecy from house to house; sometimes concealed themselves in a mill, sometimes in clefts of the rocks by the sea-side; and for weeks together they dwelt in a cave in the forest. Great rewards were offered for their apprehension; Indians as well as English were urged to scour the woods in quest of their hiding-place, as men hunt for the holes of foxes. When the search was nearly over, they retired to a village on the sound; till at last they took refuge in Hadley, and the most beautiful valley of New England gave shelter to their wearisome age.

John Dixwell, changing his name, was absorbed among the inhabitants of New Haven, married, and lived peacefully and happily. The history of the world, which Raleigh had written in imprisonment, with the sentence of death hanging over his head, was his favorite study; and he ever retained the belief that the spirit of English liberty would demand the new revolution, which was achieved in England a few months before his death.

Three of the regicides, who had escaped to the Netherlands, found themselves, in the territory of a free republic, less secure than their colleagues in a dependent colony. In 1662, they were surrendered, and executed in England.

Sir Henry Vane, the former governor of Massachusetts, the benefactor of Rhode Island, the ever faithful friend of New England, adhered with undaunted firmness to "the glorious cause" of popular liberty; and, shunned by every man who courted the returning monarch, he became noted for the most "catholic" unpopularity. He fell from the affections of the English people, when the English people fell from the jealous care of their liberties. He had always been incorrupt and disinterested, merciful and liberal. When Unitarianism was persecuted, not as a sect, but as a blasphemy, Vane interceded for its advocate; he pleaded for the release of Quakers imprisoned for their opinions; as a legislator, he demanded justice in behalf of the Roman Catholics; he resisted the sale of Penruddoc's men into slavery, as an aggression on the rights of man. The immense emoluments of his office as treasurer of the navy he voluntarily resigned. When the Presbyterians, though his adversaries, were forcibly excluded from the house of commons, he absented himself. After the monarchy was overthrown and a commonwealth attempted, Vane reluctantly filled a seat in the council; and, amid the floating wrecks of the English constitution, he clung to the existing parliament as to the only fragment on which it was possible to rescue English liberty. His energy gave to the English navy an efficient organization, so that England could cope with Holland on the sea; and he desired such a reform of parliament as would make it a true representative of the people. He steadily resisted the usurpation of Cromwell, and for this was confined to Carisbrook Castle. Cromwell and Vane were equally unsuccessful; the first failed to secure the government of England to his family; the other, to vindicate it for the people.

The convention parliament had excepted Vane from the indemnity, on the king's promise that he should not suffer death. It was now resolved to bring him to trial; and, in June, 1662, he turned his trial into a triumph. Though

"supposed to be a timorous man," he appeared before his judges with animated fearlessness; he denied the imputation of treason with scorn, defended the right of Englishmen to be governed by successive representatives, and took glory to himself for actions which promoted the good of his country, and were sanctioned by parliament as the virtual sovereign of the realm. He spoke not for his life and estate, but for the honor of the martyrs to liberty that were in their graves, for the liberties of England, for the interests "of all posterity." He asked for counsel. "Who," cried the solicitor, "will dare to speak for you, unless you can call down from the gibbet the heads of your fellow-traitors?" "Alone, I am not afraid," answered Vane, "to seal my witness to the glorious cause with my blood." "Certainly," wrote the king, "Sir Henry Vane is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way." He could not honestly be put out of the way; but still, the solicitor urged, "he must be made a sacrifice."

The day before his execution, his friends were admitted to his prison; and he reasoned with them calmly on death and immortality. Of his political career he could say: "I have not the least recoil in my heart as to matter or manner of what I have done." A friend prayed that the cup of death might be averted. "Why should we fear death?" answered Vane; "I find it rather shrinks from me than I from it." He stooped to embrace his children, mingling consolation with kisses; and his farewell counsel to them was: "Suffer anything from men rather than sin against God." As to his resistance to arbitrary rule, "I leave my life," he said, "as a seal to the justness of that quarrel. Ten thousand deaths, rather than defile the chastity of my conscience; nor would I, for ten thousand worlds, resign the peace and satisfaction I have in my heart."

From the scaffold Vane surveyed the surrounding multitude with composure, and sought to speak to them of English liberty, wishing to confirm the wavering and convince the ignorant by his martyrdom. His voice was overpowered with trumpets; not disconcerted by the rudeness, he foretold to those around him that a better day would dawn in the

clouds, though "they were coming thicker and thicker for a season." "Blessed be God," exclaimed he, as he bared his neck for the axe, "I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day, and have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer." In the history of the world, he was the first martyr to the principle of the paramount power of the people; and, as he predicted, "his blood gained a voice to speak his innocence." Milton, ever parsimonious of praise, devoted a majestic poem to encomiums on him when "young in years but in sage counsel old," the best of senators, the eldest son of religion; and Clarendon, writing for posterity, records of him: "If he were not superior to Hampden, he was inferior to no other man;" "his whole life made good the imagination that there was in him something extraordinary."

Puritanism, with the sects to which it gave birth, ceased to sway the destinies of England. The army of Cromwell displayed its might in the field; Milton still lived to create works that are among the noblest productions of the human mind; Vane proved how fearlessly it could bear witness for truth in the face of death; New England is the monument of its ability to establish free states.

The new parliament was chosen in 1660, just before the coronation, while the country still glowed with unreflecting loyalty. Few Presbyterians were returned: the irresistible majority, many of whom had fought for the king, was all for monarchy and prelacy. Severe enactments restrained the press; the ancient right of petition was narrowed and placed under supervision. The restored king was a papist; but whoever should affirm him to be a papist was incapacitated from holding office in church or state. He was ready "to conspire with the king of France and wicked advisers at home, to subvert the religion and liberty of the English people;" and the parliament, in its eagerness to condemn rebellion, renounced for itself every right of withstanding him even in defensive war.

The Presbyterians formed the governing body in many municipalities; the sincere ones were dislodged by an act removing all incumbents who should not by oath declare it unlawful to take up arms against the king on any pretence

whatsoever; and requiring of every candidate that, within the year before the election, he should have received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

The Book of Common Prayer and the ceremonies, having never been abrogated by law, revived with the restoration. From Holland the king had in some measure laid asleep the watchfulness of those whom he most feared, by promising that the scruples of the Presbyterians should be respected; and, with regard to ceremonies, pretended that he would have none to receive the sacrament on the knees or to use the cross in baptism. Cranmer saw no intrinsic difference between bishops and priests; and "the old common, moderate sort" of Episcopalians had taken Episcopacy to be good, but not necessary, and owned the reformed churches of the continent to be true ones. "Episcopal ordination was now, for the first time," so writes a great English historian, "made an indispensable qualification for church preferment." The reformed churches, alike of England and the continent, were excluded from fellowship with the Anglican church. Every minister, who should not, before the twenty-fourth of August, 1662, publicly declare his assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, was by his silence deprived of his benefice; and on that day nearly two thousand persons gave up their livings rather than stain their consciences. The subscription was required even of schoolmasters: at one swoop, the right of teaching was taken away from every person in England, except churchmen.

An act of 1664 made attendance at a dissenting place of worship a crime, to be punished, on conviction without a jury, before a single justice of the peace, by long imprisonment for the first and second offence, and by seven years' transportation for the third. But the exiled Calvinist might not be shipped to New England, where he would have found sympathy and an open career. To strike a death blow at non-conformity, a statute of 1665 required the deprived to swear that it is not lawful, under any pretext whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that they would not at any time endeavor any alteration in church or state. Those who refused this oath were forbidden to come within five miles of any city, corporate

town, borough sending members to parliament, or towns where they had themselves resided as ministers.

To the Anglican church this total expulsion of the Calvinists wrought evil, while every terrible oppression of dissenters in England, in Scotland, or in Ireland, drove the best of them to America.

The American colonies were held to be subordinate to the English parliament, and bound by its acts, whenever they were specially named in a statute or clearly embraced within its provisions. But Massachusetts had refused to be subject to the laws of parliament, and had remonstrated against such subjection, as "the loss of English liberty." The Long Parliament had conceded the justice of the remonstrance.

On the restoration of Charles II., the convention parliament in 1660 granted to the monarch a subsidy of twelvepence in the pound—that is, of five per cent—on all merchandise exported from or imported into the kingdom of England, or "any dominion thereto belonging." The tax was never levied in the colonies; nor was it understood that the colonies were bound by a statute, unless they were expressly named.

That distinctness was not wanting, when it was required by the interests of English merchants. The navigation act of the commonwealth had not been designed to trammel the commerce of the colonies; the convention parliament connected in one act the protection of English shipping and a monopoly to the English merchant of the trade with the colonies. In the reign of Richard II., the commerce of English ports had been secured to English shipping: the act of navigation of 1651 had done no more. The present act renewed the same provisions, and added: "No merchandise shall be imported into the plantations but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." Henceforward, no one but a native or naturalized subject might become a merchant or factor in any English settlement.

American industry offered articles for exportation of two kinds. Some were produced in quantities only in America, and would not compete in the English market with English productions. These were enumerated, and it was declared that none of them—that is, no sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo,

cotton, fustic, dyeing woods—shall be transported to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of forfeiture; and, as new articles of industry of this class grew up, they were added to the list. But such other commodities as the English merchant might not find convenient to buy, the American planter might ship to foreign markets; the farther off the better, because they would thus interfere less with the trades which were carried on in England. The colonists were, therefore, by a clause in the navigation act, confined to ports south of Cape Finisterre.

Hardly had time enough elapsed for a voyage or two across the Atlantic, before it was found that the English merchant might derive still further advantages at the cost of the colonists. A new law, of 1663, prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in English ships from England, to the end that England might be made the staple not only of colonial productions but of colonial supplies. Thus the colonists were compelled to buy in England not only all English manufactures, but everything else that they might need from any soil but their own.

The activity of the shipping of New England excited envy in the minds of the English merchants. The produce of the plantations of the southern colonies were brought to New England, as a result of colonial exchanges. In 1673, parliament therefore resolved to exclude New England merchants from competing with the English in the markets of the southern plantations; the liberty of free traffic between the colonies was accordingly taken away; and enumerated commodities exported from one colony to another were subjected to a duty equivalent to the duty on the consumption of these commodities in England.

By degrees, the greed of English shopkeepers became bolder; and America was forbidden, by act of parliament, not merely to manufacture those articles which might compete with the English in foreign markets, but even to supply herself, by her own industry, with those articles which her position enabled her to manufacture with success.

The policy of Great Britain, with respect to her colonies,

was a system of monopoly, adopted after the example of Spain, and for more than a century inflexibly pursued, in no less than twenty-nine acts of parliament. The colonists were allowed to sell to foreigners only what England would not take; so that they might gain means to pay for the articles forced upon them by England. The colonies could buy European and all foreign commodities only at the shops of the metropolis; and thus the merchant of the mother country could sell his goods for a little more than they were worth. England gained at the expense of America. The profit of the one was balanced by the loss of the other.

In the sale of their products, the colonists were equally injured. The English, being the sole purchasers, could obtain those products at a little less than their fair value. The merchant of Bristol or London was made richer; the planter of Virginia or Maryland was made poorer. No new value was created; one lost what the other gained; and both parties had equal claims to the benevolence of the legislature.

Thus the colonists were wronged, both in their purchases and in their sales; the law "cut them with a double edge." The English consumer gained nothing; for the surplus colonial produce was re-exported to other nations. The English merchant, not the English people, profited by the injustice. Moreover, the navigation act involved England in contradictions; she was herself a monopolist of her own colonial trade, and yet steadily aimed at sharing the trade of the Spanish settlements.

In the domestic policy of England, the act increased the tendency to unequal legislation. The English merchant having become the sole factor for American colonies, and the manufacturer claiming to supply colonial wants, the English landholder consented to uphold the artificial system only by sharing in its emoluments; and, in 1663, corn laws began to be enacted, in order to secure the profits of capital, applied to agriculture, against foreign and colonial competition. The system which impoverished the Virginia planter, by lowering the price of his tobacco crop, oppressed the English laborer, by raising the price of his bread; and at last a whig ministry offered a bounty on the exportation of corn.

Durable relations in society are correlative and reciprocally beneficial. In this case, the statute was made by one party to bind the other, and was made on iniquitous principles. Established as the law of the strongest, it could endure no longer than the superiority in force. It converted commerce, which should be the bond of peace, into a source of rankling hostility, and contained a pledge of the ultimate independence of America.

To the colonists, the navigation acts were an unmitigated evil; for the prohibition of planting tobacco in England and Ireland was useless. As a mode of taxing the colonies, the monopoly was a failure; the contribution was made to the merchant, not to the treasury of the public.

The usual excuse for colonial restrictions is founded on the principle that colonies were established at the cost of the mother country for that very purpose. Of the American colonies, the state founded not one. Virginia was begun by private companies; New England was the home of exiles, whom England owned as her children only to oppress them!

The monopoly, it must be allowed, was of the least injurious kind. It was conceded not to an individual, nor to a company, nor to a single city, but to all Englishmen.

The history of the navigation acts would be incomplete were it not added that, whatever party obtained a majority, it never, till the colonies gained great strength, occurred to the British parliament that the legislation was a wrong. Bigotry is not exclusively a passion of religious superstition; it is the obstinate, unreasoning, and merciless zeal with which selfishness in power upholds an unjust interest. The English parliament, as the instrument of mercantile eagerness for gain, had no scruple in commencing the legislation, which, when the colonists grew powerful, was, by the greatest British economist, declared to be "a manifest violation of the rights of mankind."

CHAPTER III.

CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND, AND CHARLES II.

The commission issued by the king on the first day of December, 1660, to Clarendon and seven others as a standing council, for regulating the numerous remote colonies and governments, "so many ways considerable to the crown," included the names of the earl of Manchester and the Viscount Say and Seal, who were sincere friends to New England.

Massachusetts, which had been republican, but never regicide, strong in its charter, made no haste to present itself in England as a suppliant. "The colony of Boston," wrote Stuyvesant, "remains constant to its old maxims of a free state, dependent on none but God." Had the king resolved on sending them a governor, the several towns and churches throughout the whole country were resolved to oppose him.

The colonies of Plymouth, of Connecticut, and of New Haven, not less than of Rhode Island, proclaimed the new king and acted in his name. Connecticut appeared in London by its representative, the younger Winthrop. Its people had purchased lands of the assigns of the earl of Warwick, and from Uncas the territory of the Mohegans; the news of the restoration awakened a desire for a patent. But they proceeded warily: they draughted among themselves the instrument which they desired the king to ratify; and they could plead for their possessions their rights by purchase, by conquest from the Pequods, and by their own labor which had redeemed the wilderness. A letter was addressed to the aged Lord Say and Seal, their early friend.

The venerable man secured for his clients the kind offices of the lord chamberlain, the earl of Manchester, a man "of

an obliging temper, universally beloved, being of a virtuous and generous mind." "Indeed he was a noble and a worthy lord, and one that loved the godly." "He and Lord Say did join together, that their godly friends in New England might enjoy their just rights and liberties."

But the chief happiness of Connecticut was in the selection of its agent. The younger Winthrop, as a child, had been the pride of his father's house; he had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford, and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. As he travelled through Europe, he sought the society of men eminent for learning. Returning to England in the bloom of life, with the fairest promise of advancement, he preferred to follow his father to the New World, regarding "diversities of countries but as so many inns," alike conducting to "the journey's end." When his father became impoverished, the son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his inheritance, that "it might be spent in furthering the great work" in Massachusetts, himself, without wealth, engaging in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. He respected learning and virtue and ability in whatever sect they might be found; and, when Quakers were the objects of persecution, he was unremitting in argument and entreaty to prevent the taking of their lives. He never regretted the brilliant prospects he had resigned, nor complained of the comparative solitude of New London; books furnished employment to his mind; the study of nature according to the principles of the philosophy of Bacon was his delight, for "he had a gift in understanding and art;" and his home was endeared by a happy marriage and "many sweet children." Understanding the springs of action and the principles that control affairs, he never attempted impracticable things, and noiselessly succeeded in all that he undertook. The New World was full of his praises; Puritans and Quakers and the freemen of Rhode Island were alike his eulogists; the Dutch at New York had confidence in his integrity; and it is the beautiful

testimony of his own father that "God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do." His personal merits, sympathy for his family, his exertions, the petition of the colony, and the ready good-will of Clarendon—for we must not reject all faith in generous feeling—easily prevailed to obtain for Connecticut an ample patent. The courtiers of King Charles, who themselves had an eye to possessions in America, suggested no limitations; and perhaps it was believed that Connecticut would serve to balance the power of Massachusetts.

The charter, sealed on the twentieth of April, 1662, connected New Haven and Hartford in one colony, with limits extending from the Narragansett river to the Pacific ocean. It confirmed to the colonists the right to govern themselves, which they had assumed from the beginning. They were allowed to elect all their own officers, to enact their own laws, to administer justice without appeals to England, to inflict punishments, to confer pardons, and, in a word, to exercise every power, deliberative and active. The king, far from reserving a negative on their laws, did not even require that they should be transmitted for his inspection; and no provision was made for the interference of the English government in any event whatever. Connecticut was independent except in name.

After his successful negotiations, varied by active concert in founding the Royal Society, Winthrop returned to America. The amalgamation of New Haven and Connecticut was effected without collision, though New Haven was at first reluctant to merge itself in the larger colony. The well-founded gratitude of the united commonwealth followed him throughout his life; and for fourteen years he was annually elected its chief magistrate.

The charter of Connecticut secured to her an existence of unsurpassed tranquillity. Unmixed popular power was safe under the shelter of severe morality; and beggary and crime could not thrive. From the first, the minds of the yeomanry were kept active by the constant exercise of the elective franchise; and, except under James II., there was no such thing in the land as a home officer appointed by the English king. The government was in honest and upright hands; the

strifes of rivalry never became heated; in the choice of magistrates, gifts of learning and genius were valued, but the state was content with virtue and single-mindedness; and the public welfare never suffered at the hands of plain men. Roger Williams was ever a welcome guest at Hartford; and "that heavenly man, John Haynes," would say to him: "I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confesse to you that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of the world as a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences." There never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut; and "it had a scholar to their minister in every town or village." Religious speculation was carried to the highest degree of refinement, alike in its application to moral duties and to the mysterious questions on the nature of God, of liberty, and of the soul. A hardy race multiplied along the alluvion of the streams, and subdued less inviting fields; its population for a century doubled once in twenty years, in spite of considerable emigration. Religion united with the pursuits of agriculture to form a people of steady habits. The domestic wars were discussions of knotty points in theology; the concerns of the parish, the merits of the minister, were the weightiest affairs; and a church reproof the heaviest calamity. The strifes of the parent country, though they sometimes occasioned a levy among the sons of the husbandmen, never brought an enemy over their border. No fears of midnight ruffians disturbed the sweetness of slumber; the best house required no fastening but a latch, lifted by a string.

Industry enjoyed the abundance which it created. No great inequalities of condition excited envy or raised political feuds; wealth could display itself only in a larger house and a fuller barn. There was venison from the hills; salmon, in their season, not less than shad, from the rivers; and sugar from the maple of the forest. For a foreign market little was produced beside cattle; and, in return for them, but few foreign luxuries stole in. Even so late as 1713, the number of seamen did not exceed one hundred and twenty. The soil had originally been justly divided, or held as common property in trust for the public, and for new-comers. There was for a long time hardly a lawyer in the land. The husbandman

who held his own plough and fed his own cattle, was the great man of that day; no one was superior to the matron, who, with her busy daughters, kept the hum of the wheel incessantly alive, spinning and weaving every article of their dress. Life was uniform. The only revolution was from the time of sowing to the time of reaping; from the plain dress of the week to the more trim attire of Sunday. There was nothing morose in the Connecticut character. Frolic mingled with innocence; and the annual thanksgiving to God was, from primitive times, as joyous as it was sincere.

One question distressed and divided families. Without inward experience of the truth and power of Christianity, no one of a congregation of Calvinists was admitted to take the covenant which gave admission to the communion table; and the rite of baptism was administered to the children of those only who were communicants. There grew up an increasing number of parents of blameless lives, who did not become members of the church and yet wished baptism for their children. Influenced by their condition, the general court of Connecticut expressed a desire for a council of ministers of the four confederated Calvinistic colonies. The general court of Massachusetts proposed to refer the question to a general synod, and of itself went so far as to appoint fifteen ministers of its own colony as its delegates. Connecticut readily followed the example; but Plymouth kept aloof; and the austere colony of New Haven, guided by the inflexible Davenport, not only refused to send delegates, but by letter strongly rebuked the measure as fraught with dangers to religion. Yet, in February, 1657, the synod, representing the two colonies which, in extent of territory and in numbers, far outweighed the rest, sanctioned the baptizing of children of parents who themselves had been baptized, and though they were not ready to assume all the obligations of church members, would yet promise to give their offspring a Christian education. This mode of settlement was called in derision "the half-way covenant."

By the customs of the Congregational churches, the vote of a synod was but a recommendation, leaving the decision to each church for itself. In 1662, a Massachusetts synod repeated the advice which had before been given in conjunc-

tion with Connecticut; and the general court sent it to the several towns "for the consideration of all the churches and people." There, in Massachusetts, legislative action on the matter ended. In 1664, the general court of Connecticut, after its absorption of New Haven, recommended the less exclusive system to the churches; but the majority of them adhered stiffly to the ancient rule.

The frugality of private life had its influence on public expenditure. Half a century after the concession of the charter, the annual expenses of the government did not exceed eight hundred pounds. The wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service. In each county a magistrate acted as judge of probate, and the business was transacted with small expense to the fatherless.

There were common schools from the first. Nor was it long before a college, such as the day of small things permitted, began to be established; and Yale owes its birth "to ten worthy fathers, who, in 1700, assembled at Branford, and each one, laying a few volumes on a table, said: 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.'"

But the political education of the people is due to the happy organization of towns, which here, as throughout all New England, constituted each settlement in its local affairs a self-governing democracy. In the ancient republics, citizenship had been an hereditary privilege. In Connecticut, it was acquired by inhabitancy, was lost by removal. Each town-meeting was a legislative body; and all inhabitants, the affluent and the more needy, the reasonable and the foolish, were members with equal franchises. There the taxes of the town were discussed and levied; there its officers were chosen; there roads were laid out and bridges voted; there the minister was elected, the representatives to the assembly were instructed. The debate was open to all; wisdom asked no favors; the churl abated nothing of his pretensions. Whoever reads the records of these village commonwealths will be perpetually coming upon some little document of rare political sagacity. When Connecticut emerged into scenes where a new political world was to be created, the rectitude that had

ordered the affairs of a neighborhood showed itself in the field and in council.

During the intervening century, we shall rarely have occasion to recur to Connecticut: its institutions were perfected, and, with transient interruptions, were unharmed. To describe its condition is but to enumerate the blessings of self-government, as exercised by a community of thoughtful freeholders, who have neither a nobility nor a populace. How dearly it remembered the parent island is told by the English names of its towns. Could Charles II. have looked back upon earth, and seen what security his gift of a charter had conferred, he might have gloried in an act which redeemed his life from the charge of having been unproductive of public happiness. In a proclamation, Connecticut, under its great seal, told the world that its days under the charter were "halcyon days of peace." Time, as it advances, may unfold scenes of more wealth and of wider action, but not of more contentment and purity.

Rhode Island was fostered by Charles II. with still greater liberality. When Roger Williams had succeeded in obtaining from the Long Parliament the confirmed union of the territories that now constitute the state, he returned to America, leaving John Clarke as the agent of the colony in England. Never did a young commonwealth possess a more faithful friend; and never did a young people cherish a fonder desire for the enfranchisement of mind. "Plead our case," they had said to him in previous instructions, which Gorton and others had drafted, "in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences; we do judge it no less than a point of absolute cruelty." And now that the hereditary monarch was restored and duly acknowledged, they had faith that "the gracious hand of Providence would preserve them in their just rights and privileges." "It is much in our hearts," they urged in their petition to Charles II., "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty of religious concernments." The good-natured monarch listened to their petition; Clarendon exerted himself in their behalf; the making trial of religious freedom in a nook of a remote

continent could not appear dangerous; it might at once build up another rival to Massachusetts and solve a problem in the history of man. The charter, retarded only by controversies about bounds, on the eighth of July, 1663, passed the seals, and, with new principles, embodied all that had been granted to Connecticut. The supreme authority was committed to a governor, deputy governor, ten assistants, and deputies from the towns. The scruples of the inhabitants were so respected that no oath of allegiance was required of them; the laws were to be agreeable to those of England, yet with the kind reference "to the constitution of the place, and the nature of the people;" and the monarch proceeded to exercise, as his brother attempted to do in England, and as by the laws of England he could not do within the realm, the dispensing power in matters of religion: "No person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference in opinion in matters of religion; every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments."

No joy could be purer than that of the colonists when, in November, 1663, the news was spread abroad that "George Baxter, the most faythful and happie bringer of the charter," had arrived. On the beautiful island of Rhode Island, the whole people gathered together, "for the solemn reception of his majesty's gracious letters-patent." It was "a very great meeting and assembly." The letters of the agent "were opened, and read with good delivery and attention;" the charter was next taken forth from the precious box that contained it, and "was read by Baxter, in the audience and view of all the people; and the letters with his majesty's royal stamp and the broad seal, with much beseeming gravity were held up on high, and presented to the perfect view of the people."

This charter of government, establishing a political system which few beside the Rhode Islanders themselves then believed to be practicable, remained in existence till it became the oldest constitutional charter in the world. The probable population of Rhode Island, at the time of its reception, may have

been two thousand five hundred. In one hundred and seventy years that number increased forty-fold; and the government, which was hardly thought to contain checks enough on the power of the people to endure even among shepherds and farmers, protected a dense population and the accumulations of a widely extended commerce. Nowhere in the world were life, liberty, and property safer than in Rhode Island.

The thanks of the colony were unanimously voted to a triumvirate of benefactors: to "King Charles of England, for his high and inestimable, yea, incomparable favor;" to Clarendon, who had shown "to the colony exceeding great care and love;" and to the modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy, who, during a twelve years' mission, had sustained himself by his own exertions and a mortgage on his estate; whose whole life was a continued exercise of benevolence, and who, at his death, bequeathed all his possessions for the relief of the needy and the education of the young. Others have sought office to advance their fortunes; he, like Roger Williams, parted with his little means for the public good. He had unsparing enemies in Massachusetts, and left a name on which no one cast a shade.

In May, 1664, the assembly of the people of Rhode Island, at their regular session, established religious freedom in the very words of the charter: "No person shall at any time hereafter be any ways called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." In May, 1665, the legislature asserted that "liberty to all persons, as to the worship of God, had been a principle maintained in the colony from the very beginning thereof; and it was much in their hearts to preserve the same liberty for ever." The commissioners from England, who visited Rhode Island, reported of its people: "They allow liberty of conscience to all who live civilly; they admit of all religions." And again, in 1680, the government of the colony could say, what there was no one oppressed individual to controvert: "We leave every man to walk as God persuades his heart; all our people enjoy freedom of conscience." To Jews who had inquired if they could find a home in Rhode Island, the assembly of 1684 made answer: "We declare that they may expect as good pro-

tection here as any stranger, not being of our nation, residing among us ought to have;" and in August, 1694, the Jews, who from the time of their expulsion from Spain had had no safe resting-place, entered the harbor of Newport to find equal protection, and in a few years to build a house of God for a Jewish congregation. Freedom of conscience "to every man, whether Jew, or Turk, or papist, or whomsoever that steers no otherwise than his conscience dares," was, from the first, the trophy of Rhode Island.

In 1665, it divided its general assembly into two houses—a change which, near the close of the century, was permanently adopted. It was importuned by Plymouth and vexed by Connecticut on the subject of boundaries.

The royal commissioners, in 1665, required of all the oath of allegiance; the general assembly, scrupulous in its respect for the rights of conscience, would listen to no proposition except for an engagement of fidelity and due obedience to the laws as a condition of exercising the elective franchise. This engagement being found irksome to the Quakers, it was the next year repealed.

Virginia possessed far stronger claims to favor than Rhode Island and Connecticut; and, in April, 1661, Sir William Berkeley embarked for England as her agent. We shall see how vainly she asked relief from the navigation act, or a guarantee for her constitution. Her agent, joining with seven others, obtained, in 1663, the grant of Carolina, which narrowed her limits on her whole southern frontier. King Charles was caricatured in Holland with a woman on each arm and courtiers picking his pocket; this time they took provinces, which, if divided among the eight, would have given to each a tract as extensive as the kingdom of France. To gratify favorites, Virginia, in 1669, was dismembered by lavish grants; and, in 1673, all that remained of it was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man might part with a life-estate in a barren field.

To complete the picture of the territorial changes made by Charles II., it must be added that, in 1664, he not only enfeoffed his brother, the duke of York, with the country between Pemaquid and the St. Croix, but—in defiance of his own

charter to Winthrop and the possession of the Dutch and the rights of ten thousand inhabitants—with the country from Connecticut river to Delaware bay. In 1667, Acadia, with indefinite boundaries, was restored to the French. In 1669, the frozen zone was invaded, and Prince Rupert and his associates were endowed with a monopoly of the regions on Hudson's bay. In 1677, the proprietary rights to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, in the intent to purchase them for the duke of Monmouth. In 1679, after Philip's war in New England, Mount Hope was hardly rescued from a courtier, then famous as the author of two indifferent comedies. The charter which secured a large and fertile province to William Penn, and thus invested philanthropy with executive power on the western bank of the Delaware, was a grant from Charles II. From the outer cape of Nova Scotia to Florida, with few exceptions, the tenure of every territory was changed. Further, the trade with Africa, the link in the chain of universal commerce, that first joined Europe, Asia, and America together, and united the Caucasian, the Malay, and the Ethiopian races, was given away to a company, which alone had the right of planting on the African coast.

During the first four years of his reign, Charles II. gave away a large part of a continent. Could he have continued as lavish, in the course of his rule he would have given away the world.

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II.

The virtual independence which had been hitherto exercised by Massachusetts was too dear to be relinquished. The news of the restoration, brought to Boston in July, 1660, by the ships in which Goffe and Whalley, two of the regicide judges, were passengers, was received with skeptical anxiety, and no notice was taken of the event. At the session of the general court, in October, a motion for an address to the king did not succeed; affairs in England were still regarded as unsettled. In November, it became certain that the hereditary family of kings had recovered the throne, and that swarms of enemies to the colony had gathered round the new government; a general court was convened, and addresses were prepared for the parliament and the monarch. By advice of the great majority of elders, no judgment was expressed on the execution of Charles I. and "the grievous confusions" of the past. The colonists appealed to the king of England, as "a king who had seen adversity, and who, having himself been an exile, knew the hearts of exiles." They prayed for "the continuance of civil and religious liberties," and against complaints requested an opportunity of defence. "Let not the king hear men's words," such was their petition; "your servants are true men, fearing God and the king. We could not live without the public worship of God; that we might enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, we, not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses. Our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey; ourselves, who came away in our strength, are, many of us, become gray-headed, and some of

us stooping for age." In return for the protection of their liberties, they promise the blessing of a people whose trust is in God.

Leverett, the patriotic and able agent of the colony, was instructed to intercede with members of parliament and the privy council for its chartered liberties; to resist appeals to England, alike in cases civil or criminal. Some hope was entertained that the new government might confirm to New England commerce the favors which the Long Parliament had conceded. But Massachusetts never gained an exemption from the severity of the navigation acts till she ceased to demand it as a favor.

At this juncture, Eliot, the apostle of the red men, the same who had claimed for the people a voice even in making treaties, published an essay "on the Christian commonwealth," showing how it must be constituted through the willing self-organization of individuals into tens, then hundreds, then thousands, till at last the whole would form itself into one strictly popular government. His treatise was condemned as too full of the seditious doctrines of democratic liberty. Upon this the single-minded author did not hesitate to suppress it, and in guarded language to acknowledge the form of government by king, lords, and commons, as not only lawful, but eminent.

A letter from the king, expressing general good-will, could not quiet the apprehensions of the colonists. The committee for the plantations already, in April, 1661, surmised that Massachusetts would, if it dared, cast off its allegiance, and resort to an alliance with Spain, or to any desperate remedy, rather than admit of appeals to England. Upon this subject a controversy immediately arose; and the royal government resolved to establish the principle which the Long Parliament had waived.

It was therefore not without reason that the colony foreboded collision with the crown; and, after a full report from a numerous committee, of which Bradstreet, Hawthorne, Mather, and Norton were members, the general court, on the tenth of June, 1661, published a declaration of natural and chartered rights. In this paper, which was probably written

by Thomas Danforth, they declare their liberties under God and their patent to be: to choose their own governor, deputy governor, and representatives; to admit freemen on terms to be prescribed at their own pleasure; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, and point out their power and places; to exercise, by their annually elected magistrates and deputies, all power and authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, without appeal, so long as the laws were not repugnant to the laws of England; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject, as an infringement of their right, any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country, and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation." The duties of allegiance were narrowed to a few points, which conceded neither revenue nor substantial power.

When the Puritan commonwealth had thus joined issue with its sovereign by denying the right of appeal from its courts, and with the English parliament by declaring the navigation act an infringement of its chartered rights, on the seventh of August, more than a year after the restoration, Charles II. was proclaimed at Boston, amid the cold observation of a few formalities. Yet the "gratulatory and lowly script," sent him on the same day, interpreted his letter as an answer of peace from "the best of kings." "Royal sir," it continued, excusing the tardiness of the colony with unseemly adulation, "your just title to the crown enthronizeth you in our consciences; your graciousness in our affections; that inspireth unto dutie, this naturalizeth unto loyaltie; thence wee call you lord, hence a saviour. Mephibosheth, how prejudicially soever misrepresented, yet rejoiceth that the king is come in peace to his owne house. Nowe the Lord hath dealt well with our lord the king, may New England, under your royal protection, bee permitted still to sing the Lord's song in this strange land."

The young republic had continued the exercise of its government as of right; complaints against her had multiplied; and her own interests, coinciding with the express orders of the monarch, induced her to send envoys to London. The country was divided in opinion; the large majority insisted on

sustaining its established system in undiminished force; others were willing to make such concessions as would satisfy the ministry of Clarendon. The former party prevailed; and John Norton, an accomplished scholar and rigid Puritan, yet a friend to moderate counsels, was joined with the worthy but not very able Simon Bradstreet in the commission to England. In January, 1662, they were instructed to persuade the king of the loyalty of the colony of Massachusetts, yet to "engage to nothing prejudicial to their present standing according to their patent, and to endeavor the establishment of the rights and privileges then enjoyed." Letters were at the same time transmitted to the English statesmen on whose friendship it was safe to rely.

King Charles received the messengers with courtesy; and they returned in the fall with the royal answer, which probably originated with Clarendon. The charter was confirmed, and an amnesty of all offences during the late troubles was conditionally promised. But the king directed a repeal of all laws derogatory to his authority; the taking of the oath of allegiance; the administration of justice in his name; a concession of the elective franchise to all freeholders of competent estates; and, as "the principle of the charter was the freedom of the liberty of conscience," the allowance of that freedom to those who desired to use "the booke of common prayer, and perform their devotion in the manner established in England."

Henceforward legal proceedings were transacted in the king's name; and, after a delay of two years, the elective franchise was extended to all freeholders who paid an annual tax of ten shillings, provided the general court, on certificates to their orthodoxy and good life, should admit them as freemen. But the people of Massachusetts regarded not so much the nature of the requisitions as the power by which they were made. Complete acquiescence would have seemed to recognise in the monarch the right of reversing the judgments of their courts; of dictating laws for their enactment; and of changing by his own authority the character of their domestic constitution. The question of obedience was a question of liberty, and gave birth to the parties of prerogative and of freedom.

The character of the times connected religious intolerance with the contest. Episcopacy and monarchy were feared as natural allies: Anabaptists had appeared before the ministry in England as plaintiffs against Massachusetts, and could boast of the special favor of Charles II. The principles of toleration were rapidly gaining ground, and had repeatedly possessed a majority in one branch of the legislature; but in the fear of renewed aggressions from the royal power, a censorship over the press was established; and the distrust of all dissension from the established form of dissent renewed the energies of religious bigotry. The representatives resolved on measures conducive "to the glory of God, and to the felicity of his people;" that is, to a continuance of their religious institutions and government.

In January, 1663, the council for the colonies complained of Massachusetts "that the government there had withdrawn all manner of correspondence, as if intending to suspend their absolute obedience to the authority" of the king. False rumors, mingled with true reports, assisted to incense the court at St. James. Whalley and Goffe, it was currently asserted, were at the head of an army; the union of the four New England colonies was believed to have had its origin in the express "purpose of throwing off dependence on England." Sir Thomas Temple, Cromwell's governor of Acadia, had resided for years in New England, and now appeared as their advocate. "I assure you," such was Clarendon's message to Massachusetts, "of my true love and friendship to your country; neither in your privileges, charter, government, nor church discipline, shall you receive any prejudice." Yet the news was soon spread abroad that commissioners would be appointed to regulate the affairs of New England; and, early in 1664, there was room to believe that they had already embarked, and that ships-of-war would soon anchor in the harbor of Boston.

Precautionary measures were promptly adopted. The patent was delivered to a committee of four, by whom it was to be kept safely and secretly for the country. To guard against danger from an armed force, officers and soldiers were forbidden to land from ships, except in small parties; and strict obedience to the laws of Massachusetts was required

from them. The train-bands were reviewed; the command of the castle at the entrance of Boston harbor was confided to the trustworthy officer Davenport. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed. In that age of religious faith, every person but the sick was required to attend public worship; the mother took with her the nursling whom she could not leave. To appoint a day of fasting on a special occasion was to call together, in their respective assemblies, every individual of the colony, and, under divine sanction, to direct the attention of them all at one and the same time to a single subject. No mode of diffusing intelligence could equal this, which reached every one's ear.

In July, the fleet, equipped for the reduction of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, arrived at Boston, bearing commissioners nominated by the duke of York and hostile to colonial liberties. "The main end and drift" of their appointment was to gain "a good footing and foundation for a further advance" of English power, by leading the people to submit to alterations in their charter; especially to yield up to the king the nomination or approbation of the governor, and the chief command of the militia. This instruction was secret; but it was known that they were charged to investigate the manner in which the charters of New England had been exercised, "with full authority to provide for the peace of the country, according to the royal instructions and their own discretion." No exertion of power was immediately attempted; but the people of Massachusetts descried the approach of tyranny, and their general court assembled to meet the danger.

It was agreed to levy two hundred men for the expected war against the Dutch, although no requisition for their services had been made. But the commission was considered a flagrant violation of chartered rights. In regard to the obedience due to a government, the inhabitants of Massachusetts distinguished between natural obedience and voluntary subjection. The child born on the soil of England is necessarily an English subject; but they held that, by the original right of expatriation, every man may withdraw from the land of his birth, and renounce all duty of allegiance with all claim

to protection. This they had done. Remaining in England, they acknowledged the obligatory force of established laws; because those laws were intolerable, they had emigrated to a new world, where they could all have organized their government, as many of them originally did, on the basis of natural rights and of perfect independence.

It had seemed good to them to retain their connection with England; but this connection they held to be purely voluntary; originally established and exclusively defined by the charter, which was the only existing compact connecting them with England. The right of England to the soil, under the pretence of discovery, they derided as a popish doctrine, derived from Alexander VI.; and they pleaded, as of more avail, their just occupation and their purchase from the natives.

As the establishment of a commission with discretionary powers was not specially sanctioned by their charter, they resolved to resist the orders of the king, and nullify his commission. While, therefore, the fleet was engaged in reducing New York, Massachusetts, in September, published an order prohibiting complaints to the commissioners; and, preparing a remonstrance, not against deeds of tyranny but the menace of tyranny, not against actual wrong but against a principle of wrong, on the twenty-fifth of October it thus addressed King Charles II.:

"Dread Sovereign: The first undertakers of this plantation did obtain a patent, wherein is granted full and absolute power of governing all the people of this place, by men chosen from among themselves, and according to such laws as they should see meet to establish. A royal donation, under the great seal, is the greatest security that may be had in human affairs. Under the encouragement and security of the royal charter, this people did, at their own charges, transport themselves, their wives and families, over the ocean, purchase the land of the natives, and plant this colony, with great labor, hazards, cost, and difficulties; for a long time wrestling with the wants of a wilderness and the burdens of a new plantation; having also now above thirty years enjoyed the privilege of government within themselves, as their un-

doubted right in the sight of God and man. To be governed by rulers of our own choosing and lawes of our own, is the fundamental privilege of our patent.

"A commission under the great seal, wherein four persons (one of them our professed enemy) are impowered to receive and determine all complaints and appeals according to their discretion, subjects us to the arbitrary power of strangers, and will end in the subversion of our all.

"If these things go on, your subjects here will either be forced to seeke new dwellings or sink under intolerable burdens. The vigor of all new endeavors will be enfeebled; the king himself will be a loser of the wonted benefit by customs, exported and imported from hence into England, and this hopeful plantation will in the issue be ruined.

"If the aime should be to gratify some particular gentlemen by livings and revenues here, that will also fail, for the poverty of the people. If all the charges of the whole government by the year were put together, and then doubled or trebled, it would not be counted for one of those gentlemen a considerable accommodation. To a coalition in this course the people will never come; and it will be hard to find another people that will stand under any considerable burden in this country, seeing it is not a country where men can subsist without hard labor and great frugality.

"God knows our greatest ambition is to live a quiet life, in a corner of the world. We came not into this wildernesse to seek great things to ourselves; and, if any come after us to seeke them heere, they will be disappointed. We keep ourselves within our line; a just dependence upon, and subjection to, your majestie, according to our charter, it is far from our hearts to disacknowledge. We would gladly do anything within our power to purchase the continuance of your favorable aspect. But it is a great unhappiness to have no testimony of our loyalty offered but this, to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives, and which we have willingly ventured our lives and passed through many deaths to obtain.

"It was Job's excellency, when he sat as king among his people, that he was a father to the poor. A poor people,

destitute of outward favor, wealth, and power, now cry unto their lord the king. May your majestie regard their cause, and maintain their right; it will stand among the marks of lasting honor to after generations."

The spirit of the people corresponded with this address. Did any appear to pay court to the commissioners, they became objects of derision. Even the writing to the king and chancellor was not held to be a duty; the compact by the charter required only the payment to the king of one fifth of all gold and silver ore; this was an obligation; any notice of the king beyond this was only by way of civility. It was also hoped to weary the English government by a tedious correspondence, which might be continued till the new revolution, of which they foreboded the approach. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the instinct of fanaticism from the soundest judgment; sometimes fanaticism has the keenest sagacity. There were many in New England who confidently expected a revival of liberty after the restoration, and what was called "the slaying of the witnesses." "Who knows," it was asked, "what the event of this Dutch war will be?" The establishment of arbitrary power would bring in its train arbitrary taxation for the advantage of greedy courtiers. A report was spread that Massachusetts was to yield a revenue of five thousand pounds yearly for the king. Public meetings of the people were held; the brave and liberal Hawthorne, at the head of a company of train-bands, made a speech which royalists deemed "seditious;" and Endecott, of whom Charles II. had written to the colony as of a person not well affected, just as the last sands of life were running out, addressed the people at their meeting-house in Boston. The aged Davenport was equally unbending. "The commission," said he from New Haven, "is but a tryal of our courage; the Lord will be with his people while they are with him. If you consent to this court of appeals, you pluck down with your own hands the house which wisdom has built for you and your posterity."

In the elections, in the spring of 1665, the people sustained their government. Richard Bellingham, late deputy governor, the unbending, faithful old man, skilled from his youth in

English law, perhaps the draughtsman of the charter, certainly familiar with it from its beginning, was chosen to succeed Endecott. Meantime, letters of entreaty had been sent to Robert Boyle and the earl of Manchester; for, from the days of Southampton and Sandys, of Warwick and Say, to those of Burke and Chatham, America was not destitute of friends in England. But none of them would perceive the reasonableness of complaining against an abstract principle. "We are all amazed," wrote Clarendon, who was no enemy to Massachusetts; "you demand a revocation of the commission, without charging the commissioners with the least matter of crymes or exorbitances." The statesmen of that day in Massachusetts understood the doctrine of liberty better than the chancellor of England. A century later, and there were none in England who did not esteem the commission an unconstitutional usurpation.

To Connecticut, the controversy with Massachusetts was fraught with benefits. The commissioners, desirous to make friends in the other colonies, gave no countenance to a claim advanced by the duke of Hamilton to a large part of its territory, and, in arranging the limits of New York, though the charter of Clarendon's son-in-law extended to the river Connecticut, they established the boundary, on the main, in conformity with the claims of Connecticut itself. Long Island went to the duke of York. Satisfied with the harmony which they had secured by attempting nothing but for the interests of the colony, they saw fit to praise to the monarch "the dutifulness and obedience of Connecticut," which was "set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts."

We shall soon have occasion to narrate the events in which Nicolls was engaged at New York, where he remained. In February, 1665, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, the other commissioners, returning to Massachusetts, desired that, at the next general election day, the whole male population might be assembled in Boston, to hear the message from the king. The proposal was rejected. "He that will not attend to the request," said Cartwright, "is a traitor."

The nature of the government of Rhode Island, and its habitual policy of relying on England for protection, secured

to the royal agents in that province a less unfavorable reception. Plymouth, the weakest colony of all, too poor to "maintain scholars to their ministers," but in some places making use of "a guifted brother," stood firm for independence, although the long-cherished hopes of the inhabitants were flattered by the promise of a charter, if they would but allow the king to select their governor from among three candidates, whom they themselves should nominate. The general assembly, after due consideration, "with many thanks, and great protestations of loyalty to the king," "chose to be as they were."

In Massachusetts, the conference between the two parties degenerated into an altercation. "It is insufferable," said its government, "that the colony should be brought to the bar of a tribunal unknown to its charter." In May, the royal commissioners asked categorically: "Do you acknowledge his majesty's commission?" The colony declined giving a direct answer, and chose rather to plead his majesty's patent.

Tired of discussion, the commissioners declared their intention of holding a court to decide a cause in which the colony was cited to appear as defendant. The general court of the colony forbade them to proceed. On the twenty-third of May, the morning fixed for the trial, they were preparing to go on with the cause, when a herald stepped forth, and, having sounded a trumpet, made proclamation in the name of the king and by authority of the charter, that the general court of Massachusetts, in observance of their duty to God, to the king, and to their constituents, could not suffer any to abet his majesty's honorable commissioners in their designs.

The herald sounded the trumpet in three several places, repeating his proclamation. We may smile at this ceremony; yet when had the voice of a herald proclaimed the approach of so momentous a contest? It was the dawning strife of the new system against the old system, of American politics against European politics.

The commissioners could only wonder that the arguments of the king, his chancellor, and his secretary, did not convince the government of Massachusetts. "Since you will misconstrue our endeavors," said they, "we shall not lose more of

our labors upon you;" and so they retreated to the north. There they endeavored to inquire into the bounds of New Hampshire and Maine, and to prepare for the restoration of proprietary claims; but Massachusetts was again equally active and fearless; its governor and council forbade the towns on the Piscataqua to meet, or in anything to obey the commission, at their utmost peril.

On the first of August, the general court of Massachusetts, as petitioners, thus addressed their complaints to the king: "Your poor subjects are threatened with ruin, reproached with the name of rebels, and your government, established by charter, and our privileges, are violated and undermined; some of your faithful subjects dispossessed of their lands and goods without hearing them speak in their cases; the unity of the English colonies, which is the wall and bulwark under God against the heathen, discountenanced, reproached, and undermined; our bounds and limits clipped and shortened. A just dependence upon and allegiance unto your majesty, according to the charter, we have, and do profess and practice, and have by our oaths of allegiance to your majesty confirmed; but to be placed upon the sandy foundations of a blind obedience unto that arbitrary, absolute, and unlimited power which these gentlemen would impose upon us, who in their actings have carried it not as indifferent persons toward us, this as it is contrary to your majesty's gracious expressions and the liberties of Englishmen, so we can see no reason to submit thereto."

In Maine, the temper of the people was more favorable to royalty; they preferred the immediate protection of the king to an incorporation with Massachusetts, or a subjection to the heir of Gorges; and the commissioners, setting aside the officers appointed by Massachusetts and neglecting the pretensions of Gorges, issued commissions to persons of their selection to govern the district. There were not wanting those who, in spite of threats, openly expressed fears of "the sad contentions" that would follow, and acknowledged that their connection with Massachusetts had been favorable to their prosperity. In the country beyond the Kennebec, which had been recently granted to the duke of York as a province, the commissioners

instituted a government in his name over the few and scattered inhabitants; and, when they were recalled, they retired in angry petulance, threatening the disloyal in New England with retribution and the gallows.

The frowardness of Massachusetts was visited by reproofs from the English monarch, to whom it was well known that "the people of that colony affirmed his majesty had no jurisdiction over them." It was resolved to transfer the scene of negotiations. By a royal mandate of April, 1666, Bellingham and Hawthorne were commanded, on their allegiance, to repair to England, with two or three others, whom the magistrates of Massachusetts were to appoint as their colleagues. Till the final decision of the claims of Gorges, the government of Maine was to continue as instituted by the commissioners.

It belonged to the general court to execute such commands as exceeded the powers of the magistrates; it was therefore convened to consider the letter from the king. The morning of the second day was spent in prayer; six elders prayed. The next day, after a lecture, some debate was had; and petitions, proposing compliance with the king, were forwarded from Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury. "Let some regular way be propounded for the debate," said Bellingham, the governor. "The king's prerogative gives him power to command our appearance," said the moderate Bradstreet; "before God and men we are to obey." "You may have a trial at law," insinuated an artful royalist; "when you come to England, you may insist upon it and claim it." "We must as well consider God's displeasure as the king's," retorted Willoughby; "the interest of ourselves and of God's things, as his majesty's prerogative; for our liberties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people." "Prerogative is as necessary as law," rejoined the royalist. "Prerogative is not above law," retorted Hawthorne. After much argument, obedience was refused. "We have already," such was the reply of the general court, "furnished our views in writing, so that the ablest persons among us could not declare our case more fully."

This decision of disobedience was made at a time when

Louis XIV. of France, eager to grasp at the Spanish Netherlands, and united with De Witt by a treaty of partition, had, in consequence of his Dutch alliance, declared war against England. It was on this occasion that the conquest of Canada was first distinctly proposed to New England; but "a land march of four hundred miles, over rocky mountains and howling deserts," was too terrible an obstacle. Boston equipped privateers, and not without success.

At the same time, Massachusetts sent provisions to the English fleet in the West Indies; and, to the navy in England, a ship-load of masts; "a blessing, mighty unexpected, and but for which," adds Pepys, "we must have failed the next year."

Secure in the support of a resolute minority, the Puritan commonwealth, in 1668, entered the province of Maine, and re-established its authority by force of arms. Great tumults ensued; many persons, opposed to what seemed a usurpation, were punished for "irreverent speeches;" some even reproached the authorities of Massachusetts "as traitors and rebels against the king;" but, from the southern limit of Massachusetts to the Kennebec, the colonial government maintained its independent jurisdiction till Gorges recovered his claims by adjudication in England.

The defiance of Massachusetts was not followed by immediate danger. Clarendon was in exile. The board of trade, projected in 1668, never assumed the administration of colonial affairs, and had not vitality enough to last more than three or four years; profligate libertines gained the confidence of the king's mistresses, and places in the royal cabinet. While Charles II. was dallying with women and robbing the theatre of actresses; while Buckingham, who had succeeded in displacing Clarendon, wasted the vigor of his mind and body by indulging in every sensual pleasure "which nature could desire or wit invent;" while Louis XIV. was bribing the mistress of the chief of the king's cabal—England remained without a good government, and the colonies flourished in purity and peace. The affairs of New England were often discussed; but the privy council was overawed by the moral dignity which they could not comprehend. There were great debates, in which the king took part, "in what style to write to New Eng-

land." Charles himself commended this affair more expressly, because "the colony was rich and strong, able to contest with all other plantations about them;" "there is fear," said the monarch, in May, 1671, "of their breaking from all dependence on this nation." "Some of the council proposed a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colonie were utterly against." After many days, it was concluded "that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter; for it was understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence upon the crown." "Information of the present face of things was desired," and Cartwright, one of the commissioners, was summoned before the council to give "a relation of that country;" but, such was the picture that he drew, the council were more intimidated than ever, so that nothing was recommended beyond "a letter of amnesty." By degrees, it was proposed to send a deputy to New England, under the pretext of adjusting boundaries, but "with secret instructions to inform the council of the condition of New England; and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his majesty and declare for themselves, as independent of the crown." Their strength was reported to be the cause "which of late years made them refractory." But the king was taken up by "the childish, simple, and baby face" of a new favorite and his traffic of the honor and independence of England to the king of France. The duke of Buckingham, now in mighty favor, was revelling with a luxurious and abandoned rout; and, for the moment, the discussions at the council about New England were fruitless.

CHAPTER V.

NEW ENGLAND AND ITS RED MEN.

Colonies were valued in proportion as their products differed from those of the parent country. "Massachusetts," said Sir Joshua Child, in his discourse on trade, "is the most prejudicial plantation of Great Britain; the frugality, industry, and temperance of its people, and the happiness of their laws and institutions, promise them long life, and a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power." It paid no regard to the acts of navigation. With a jurisdiction stretching to the Kennebec, it possessed a widely extended trade; acting as a carrier for other English colonies, and sending ships into the most various climes. Boston harbor was open to vessels from Spain and Italy, from France and Holland. Commerce brought wealth to the colonists, and they employed it liberally; after the great fire in London, they sent large contributions to the sufferers.

Beggary was unknown; theft was rare. If "strange new fashions" prevailed among "the younger sort of women," if "superfluous ribbons" decorated their apparel, at least "musicians by trade and dancing-schools" were not fostered. In spite of the increasing spirit of inquiry and toleration, the Congregational churches were upheld "in their purest and most athletick constitution." Affluence was uninterrupted.

This increase of the English alarmed the red men, who could not change their habits, and who saw themselves deprived of their ancient resources. It is difficult to form exact opinions on the population of the several colonies in this early period; the colonial accounts are incomplete; and those which were furnished by emissaries from England are

extravagantly false. No great error will be committed if we suppose the white population of New England, in 1675, to have been fifty-five thousand souls. Of these, Plymouth may have contained not many less than seven thousand; Connecticut, nearly fourteen thousand; Massachusetts proper, more than twenty-two thousand; and Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, each perhaps four thousand. The settlements near the sea-side reached from New Haven to Pemaquid. The beaver trade, even more than traffic in lumber and fish, created the villages beyond the Piscataqua; yet in Maine, as in New Hampshire, there was "a great trade in deal-boards;" and the rivers were made to drive "the saw-mills," then described as a "late invention." Haverhill, on the Merrimack, was a frontier town; from Connecticut, emigrants had ascended as far as the rich meadows of Deerfield and Northfield; but Berkshire was a wilderness; Westfield was the remotest plantation. Between the towns on Connecticut river and the compact towns near Massachusetts bay, Lancaster and Brookfield were the solitary abodes of Christians in the desert. The confederacy of the colonies had been renewed, in anticipation of dangers.

The number of the red men of that day hardly amounted to thirty thousand in all New England west of the St. Croix. Of these, perhaps about five thousand dwelt in the territory of Maine; New Hampshire may have hardly contained three thousand; and Massachusetts, with Plymouth, never from the first peopled by many of them, seems to have had less than eight thousand. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, never depopulated by wasting sickness, the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, the Pokanokets, and kindred tribes, had multiplied their villages along the sea, the inlets, and the larger ponds, which added fish to their scanty supplies. Yet the exaggerated estimates of their numbers melt away when subjected to criticism. In Connecticut, there may have been two thousand able-bodied red men; the Narragansetts, like so many other tribes, boasted of their former grandeur, but they could not bring into action a thousand bowmen. West of the Piscataqua there were probably about fifty thousand whites and hardly twenty-five thousand Indians; while, east of it, there

were about four thousand whites, and perhaps more than that number of red men.

The ministers of the early emigration were fired with zeal to redeem these "wrecks of humanity," and gather them into civilized villages.

No pains were spared to teach them to read and write; and, in a short time, a larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians could do so than recently of the inhabitants of Russia. Some of them spoke and wrote English quite well. The morning star of missionary enterprise was John Eliot, whose character shone with the purest lustre of disinterested love. An Indian grammar was a pledge of his earnestness; the pledge was redeemed by his preparing and publishing a translation of the whole Bible into the Massachusetts dialect.

He lived with the red men; spoke to them of God and of the soul, and explained the virtues of self-denial. He became their law-giver. He taught the women to spin, the men to dig the ground; he established for them simple forms of government; and, in spite of menaces from their priests and chieftains, he instructed them in his own religious faith, and not without success. Groups of them used to gather round him as round a father, and often perplexed him with their doubts. "What is a spirit?" asked the Indians of Massachusetts of their apostle. "Can the soul be enclosed in iron so that it cannot escape?" "When Christ arose, whence came his soul?" Every clan had some vague conceptions of immortality of its own. "Shall I know you in heaven?" inquired a red man. "Our little children have not sinned; when they die, whither do they go?" "When such die as never heard of Christ, where do they go?" "Do they in heaven dwell in houses, and what do they do?" "Do they know things done here on earth?" The origin of moral evil has engaged the minds of the most subtle. "Why," demanded the natives on the banks of the Charles, "why did not God give all men good hearts?" "Since God is all-powerful, why did not God kill the devil, that made men so bad?" Of themselves they fell into the mazes of fixed decrees and free-will. "Doth God know who shall repent and believe, and who not?" The ballot-box was to them a mystery. "When you

choose magistrates, how do you know who are good men, whom you dare trust?" And again: "If a man be wise, and his sachem weak, must he yet obey him?" Eliot preached against polygamy. "Suppose a man, before he knew God," inquired a convert, "hath had two wives, the first childless, the second bearing him many sweet children, whom he exceedingly loves, which of these two wives is he to put away?" And the case was put to the pure-minded Eliot, among the wigwams of Nonantum: "Suppose a squaw desert and flee from her husband, and live with another distant Indian, till, hearing the word, she repents, and desires to come again to her husband, who remains still unmarried: shall the husband, upon her repentance, receive her again?" The poet of civilization tells us that happiness is the end of our being. "How shall I find happiness?" demanded the savage. And Eliot was never tired by this importunity or by the hereditary idleness of the race; and his simplicity of life and manners won for him all hearts, whether in the villages of the emigrants or "the smoaky cells" of the natives.

In the islands round Massachusetts, and within the limits of the Plymouth patent, "that young New England scholar," the gentle Mayhew, forgetting the pride of learning, endeavored to convert the natives. At a later day, he took passage for England to awaken interest in his mission, and the ship in which he sailed was never more heard of. But, such had been the force of his example, that his father, though bowed down by the weight of seventy years, assumed toward the red men the office of the son whom he had lost, and, though he declined to become the pastor of their regularly organized church, he continued his zeal for them till beyond the age of fourscore years and twelve, and with the happiest results. The Indians of the Elizabeth isles, though twenty times more numerous than the whites in their immediate neighborhood, preserved an immutable friendship with Massachusetts.

Churches of "praying Indians" were gathered; at Cambridge, an Indian became a bachelor of arts. Yet Christianity hardly spread beyond the Indians on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and the seven feeble villages round Boston. The Narragansetts, hemmed in between Connecticut

and Plymouth, restless and jealous, retained their old belief; and Philip of Pokanoket, at the head of seven hundred warriors, professed with pride the faith of his fathers.

But he and the tribes that owned his influence were now shut in by the gathering plantations of the English, and were the first to forebode the danger of extermination. True, the inhabitants of New England had never, except in the territory of the Pequods, taken possession of a foot of land without first obtaining a title from the Indians. But the unlettered savage, who repented the alienation of vast tracts by affixing a shapeless mark to a bond, might deem the English tenure defeasible. Again, by repeated treaties, the red man had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the English, who claimed a guardianship over him, and really endeavored in their courts, with scrupulous justice, and even with favor, to protect him from fraud and to avenge his wrongs. But the wild inhabitants of the woods or the sea-shore could not understand the duty of allegiance to an unknown sovereign, or acknowledge the binding force of a political compact; crowded by hated neighbors, losing fields and hunting-grounds, and frequently summoned to Boston or Plymouth to reply to an accusation or to explain their purposes, they sighed for the forest freedom which was their immemorial birthright.

The clans within the limits of the denser settlements, especially the Indian villages round Boston, were broken-spirited from the overwhelming force of the English. In their rude blending of new lessons with ancient superstitions, in their feeble imitations of the manners of civilization, in their appeals to the charities of Europeans, they had quenched the fierce spirit of savage independence. They loved the crumbs from the white man's table.

But the Pokanokets had always rejected the Christian faith and Christian manners, and their chief had desired to insert in a treaty, what the Puritans always rejected, that the English should never attempt to convert the warriors of his tribe from the religion of their race. The aged Massassoit—he who had welcomed the pilgrims to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island—now slept with his fathers, and Philip, his son, had succeeded

him as head of the allied tribes. Repeated sales of land had narrowed their domains, and the English had artfully crowded them into the tongues of land, as "most suitable and convenient for them," and as more easily watched. The principal seats of the Pokanokets were the peninsulas which we now call Bristol and Tiverton. As the English villages drew nearer and nearer to them, their hunting-grounds were put under culture, their natural parks were turned into pastures, their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated, their fisheries were impaired by more skilful methods, till they found themselves deprived of their broad acres, and, by their own legal contracts, driven, as it were, into the sea.

Collisions and mutual distrust were the necessary consequence. There exists no evidence of a deliberate conspiracy on the part of all the tribes. The commencement of war was accidental; many of the Indians were in a maze, not knowing what to do, and disposed to stand for the English; sure proof of no ripened conspiracy. But they had the same complaints, recollections, and fears; and, when they met, they could not but grieve together at the alienation of the domains of their fathers. They spurned the English claim of jurisdiction over them, and were indignant that Indian chiefs or warriors should be arraigned before a jury. And, when the language of their anger and sorrow was reported to the men of Plymouth colony by an Indian tale-bearer, fear professed to discover in their unguarded words the evidence of an organized conspiracy.

The haughty Philip, who had once before been compelled to surrender his "English arms" and pay an onerous tribute, was, in 1674, summoned to submit to an examination, and could not escape suspicion. The wrath of his tribe was roused, and the informer was murdered. The murderers, in their turn, were identified, seized, tried by a jury, of which one half were Indians, and, in June, 1675, on conviction, were hanged. The young men of the tribe panted for revenge; without delay, eight or nine of the English were slain in or about Swansey, and the alarm of war spread through the colonies.

Thus was Philip hurried into "his rebellion;" and he is

reported to have wept as he heard that a white man's blood had been shed. He had kept his men about him in arms, and had welcomed every stranger; and yet, against his judgment and his will, he was involved in war. For what chances had he of success? The English were united; the Indians had no alliance, and half of them joined the English, or were quiet spectators of the fight: the English had guns enough; few of the Indians were well armed, and they could get no new supplies: the English had towns for their shelter and safe retreat; the miserable wigwams of the natives were defenceless: the English had sure supplies of food; the Indians might easily lose their precarious stores. They rose without hope, and they fought without mercy. For them as a nation there was no to-morrow.

The English were appalled at the impending conflict, and superstition indulged in its wild inventions. At the time of the eclipse of the moon, they saw the figure of an Indian scalp imprinted on the centre of its disk. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the sky. The sighing of the wind was like the whistling of bullets. Some heard invisible troops of horses gallop through the air, while others interpreted prophecies of calamity in the howling of the wolves.

At the first alarm, volunteers from Massachusetts joined the troops of Plymouth; on the twenty-ninth of June, within a week from the beginning of hostilities, the Pokanokets were driven from Mount Hope; and in less than a month Philip was a fugitive among the Nipmucks, the interior tribes of Massachusetts. The little army of the colonists then entered the territory of the Narragansetts, and from the reluctant tribe extorted a treaty of neutrality, with a promise to deliver up every hostile Indian. Victory seemed promptly assured. But it was only the commencement of horrors. Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, was the son of Miantonomoh; and could he forget his father's wrongs? Desolation extended along the whole frontier. Banished from his patrimony where the pilgrims found a friend, and from his cabin which had sheltered exiles, Philip and his warriors spread through the country, awakening their race to a warfare of extermination.

The war, on the part of the Indians, was one of ambuscades and surprises. They never once met the English in open field; but always, even if eightfold in numbers, fled timorously before infantry. They were secret as beasts of prey, skilful marksmen, fleet of foot, conversant with all the paths of the forest, patient of fatigue, and mad with a passion for rapine, vengeance, and destruction, retreating into swamps for their fastnesses, or hiding in the greenwood thickets, where the leaves muffled the eyes of the pursuer. By the rapidity of their descent, they seemed omnipresent among the scattered villages, which they ravaged like a passing storm; and for a full year they kept all New England in a state of terror and excitement. The exploring party was waylaid and cut off, and the mangled carcasses and disjointed limbs of the dead were hung upon the trees. The laborer in the field, the reapers as they sallied forth to the harvest, men as they went to mill, the shepherd's boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking foes, whose approach was invisible. The mother, if left alone in the house, feared the tomahawk for herself and children; on the sudden attack, the husband would fly with one child, the wife with another, and perhaps one only escape; the village cavalcade, making its way "to meeting" on Sunday, in files on horseback, the farmer holding the bridle in one hand and a child in the other, his wife seated on a pillion behind him, it may be with a child in her lap, as was the fashion in those days, could not proceed safely; but, at the moment when least expected, bullets would whiz among them, sent from an unseen enemy by the wayside. The forest, that hid the ambush of the Indians, secured their retreat.

On the second of August, Brookfield, a settlement of less than twenty families, the only one in the wilderness between Lancaster and Hadley, was besieged and set on fire, and most gallantly rescued by Simon Willard, then seventy years old, and rescued only to be abandoned; on the first of September, Deerfield was burnt. The plains of Northfield were wet with the blood of Beers and twenty of his valiant associates. On the eighteenth, as Lathrop's company of young men, all "culled" out of the towns of Essex county, were conveying the harvests of Deerfield to the lower towns, they were sud-

denly surrounded by a horde of Indians; and, as each party fought from behind trees, the victory was with the far more numerous savages. Hardly a white man escaped; the little stream that winds through the tranquil scene, by its name of blood, commemorates the massacre of that day. For ten weeks of the autumn, the commissioners of the united colonies, which were now but three in number, were almost constantly in session. With one voice they voted that the war was a just and necessary war of defence, to be jointly prosecuted by all the united colonies at their common charge. They directed that a thousand soldiers should be raised, of whom one half should be troopers with long arms. Of the whole number, the quota of Massachusetts was five hundred and twenty-seven; of Plymouth, one hundred and fifty-eight; of Connecticut, three hundred and fifteen. But the war still raged. In October, Springfield was burnt, and Hadley once more assaulted. The remoter villages were deserted; the pleasant residences of civilization in the wilderness were laid waste.

But the English were not the only sufferers. In winter, it was the custom of the red men to dwell together in their wigwams; in spring, they would disperse through the woods. In winter, the warriors who had spread misery through the west were sheltered among the Narragansetts; in spring, they would renew their devastations. In winter, the absence of foliage made the forests less dangerous; in spring, every bush would be a hiding-place. It was resolved to regard the Narragansetts as enemies; and, just before the solstice, a second levy of a thousand men, raised by order of the united colonies, and commanded by the brave Josiah Winslow, a native of New England, invaded their territory. After a night spent in the open air, they waded through the snow from daybreak till an hour after noon, and, on the nineteenth of December, reached the wigwams of their enemies within the limits of the present town of South Kingston. The village, built on about six acres of land which rose out of a swamp, was protected in its entire circumference by thickly set palisades, to which the approach was defended by a block-house. Without waiting to take food or rest, the New Englanders began the attack. Davenport, Gardner, John-

son, Gallop, Siely, Marshall, led their companions through the narrow entrance in the face of death, and left their lives as a testimony to their patriotism and courage. But the palisades, strong as they were, could not check the determined valor of the assailing party. Within the enclosure the battle raged hand to hand, till seventy of the New Englanders were killed and twice that number wounded; nor was it decided till the group of Indian cabins was set on fire. Then were swept away the winter's stores of the tribe; their curiously wrought baskets, full of corn; their famous strings of wampum; their wigwams nicely lined with mats—all the little comforts of savage life. Old men, women, and babes, perished in the flames. How many of their warriors fell was never known. The English troops, after the engagement, bearing with them their wounded, retraced their steps, by night, through a snow-storm, to Wickford.

"We will fight," said the Indian warriors, "these twenty years; you have houses, barns, and corn; we have now nothing to lose;" and towns in Massachusetts, one after another—Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough—were laid in ashes.

Early in the morning of the tenth of February, 1676, Philip of Pokanoket, with warriors of the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuck tribes, burst upon Lancaster in five several assaults. Forty-two persons had sought shelter under the roof of Mary Rowlandson; and, after a hot assault, the Indians succeeded in setting the house on fire. "Quickly," she writes, "it was the dolefulest day that ever mine eyes saw. Now the dreadful hour is come. Some in our house were fighting for their lives; others wallowing in blood; the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. I took my children to go forth; but the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had thrown a handful of stones. We had six stout dogs, but none of them would stir. . . . The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and through my poor child in my arms." The brutalities of an Indian massacre followed; "there remained nothing to me," she continues, now in captivity, "but one poor wounded babe.

Down I must sit in the snow, with my sick child, the picture of death, in my lap. Not the least crumb of refreshing came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. One Indian, and then a second, and then a third, would come and tell me, 'Your master will quickly knock your child on the head.' This was the comfort I had from them: miserable comforters were they all."

Nor were such scenes of ruin confined to Massachusetts. At the south, the Narragansett country was deserted by the English; Warwick was burnt; Providence was attacked and set on fire. "We will fight to the last man," said the gallant chieftain Canonchet, "rather than become servants to the English." In April, 1676, taken prisoner near the Blackstone, a young man began to question him. "Child," replied he, "you do not understand war; I will answer your chief." The offer of his life, if he would procure a treaty of peace, he refused with disdain. "I know," added he, "the Indians will not yield." Condemned to death, he only answered: "I like it well; I shall die before I speak anything unworthy of myself."

There was no security but to seek out the hiding-places of the natives. On the banks of the Connecticut, just above the falls that take their name from the gallant Turner, was an encampment of large bodies of hostile Indians; a band of one hundred and fifty volunteers, from among the yeomanry of Springfield, Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, led by Turner and Holyoke, making a silent march in the dead of night, came at daybreak of the nineteenth of May upon the wigwams. The Indians are taken by surprise; some are shot down in their cabins; others rush to the river, and are drowned; others push from shore in their birchen canoes, and are hurried down the cataract.

As the season advanced, the Indians abandoned every hope. Their forces were wasted; they had no fields that they could plant. Continued warfare without a respite was against their usages. They began, as the unsuccessful and unhappy so often do, to quarrel among themselves; recriminations ensued; those of Connecticut charged their sufferings upon Philip; and his allies became suppliants for peace. Some

surrendered to escape starvation. In the progress of the year, between two and three thousand Indians submitted or were killed. Church, the most famous partisan warrior, went out to hunt down parties of fugitives. Some of the tribes wandered away to the north, and were blended with tribes of Canada. Philip himself was chased from one hiding-place to another. He had vainly sought to engage the Mohawks in the contest; now that hope was at an end, he still refused to hear of peace, and struck dead the warrior who proposed it. At length, after a year's absence, he resolved, as it were, to meet his destiny, and returned to the beautiful land which held the graves of his forefathers, and had been his home. On the third of August, 1676, he escaped narrowly, leaving his wife and only son as prisoners. "My heart breaks," cried the tattooed chieftain, in the agony of his grief; "now I am ready to die." His own followers began to plot against him, to make better terms for themselves, and in a few days he was shot by a faithless Indian. His captive child was sold as a slave in Bermuda. Of the Narragansetts, once the chief tribe of New England, hardly one hundred men survived.

During the war, the Mohegans remained faithful to the English, and not a drop of blood was shed on the happy soil of Connecticut. So much the greater was the loss in the adjacent colonies. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed; the disbursements and losses equalled in value half a million of dollars, an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burnt. Of the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burnt out.

Let us not forget a good deed of the generous Irish; they sent over a contribution, small, it is true, to relieve in part the distresses of Plymouth colony. Connecticut, which had contributed soldiers to the war, furnished the houseless with more than a thousand bushels of corn. "God will remember and reward that pleasant fruit." Boston did the like, for "the grace of Christ always made Boston exemplary" in works of that nature.

The eastern hostilities with the Indians had a different origin, and were of longer continuance. The news of the rising of the Pokanokets was, indeed, the signal for the commencement of devastations, and, within a few weeks, a border warfare extended over nearly three hundred miles. Sailors had committed outrages, and the Indians avenged the crimes of a corrupt ship's crew on the villages. There was no general rising of the Abenakis, as the eastern tribes were called, no gatherings of large bodies of men. Of the English settlements, nearly one half were destroyed in detail; the inhabitants were either driven away, killed, or carried into captivity; for the hope of a ransom sometimes counselled mercy.

The escape of Anne Brackett, granddaughter of George Cleeves, the first settler of Portland, was the marvel of that day. In August her family were taken captive at the sack of Falmouth. When her captors hastened forward to further ravages on the Kennebec, she was able to loiter behind; with needle and thread from a deserted house, she repaired the wreck of a birchen bark; then, with her husband, a negro servant, and her infant child, she trusted herself to the sea in the patched canoe, which had neither sail nor mast and was like a feather on the waves. She crossed Casco bay, and, arriving at Black Point, where she feared to encounter savages, and at best could only have hoped to find a solitude, how great was her joy as she discovered a vessel from Piscataqua, that had just sought anchorage in the harbor!

The surrender of Acadia to the French had rendered the struggle more arduous, for the eastern Indians obtained arms from the French on the Penobscot. A few of the Mohawks took up the hatchet; but distance rendered co-operation impossible. After several fruitless attempts at treaties, on the twelfth of April, 1678, peace was finally established by Edmund Andros, as governor of the duke of York's province beyond the Kennebec. The red men promised the release of prisoners and the security of English towns; in return, the English were to pay annually, as a quit-rent, a peck of corn for every English family.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To protect the Catholic religion and establish the absolute power of the crown were the constant desires of Charles II. The movements against the liberties of the colonies were marked by the same occasional hesitation and the same underlying persistency as those against the rights of English corporations and the English parliament. For fifteen or sixteen years after the restoration, there was no officer of the customs in Massachusetts, except the governor, annually elected by the people; and he had never taken the oath which the navigation act of 1660 required. During the disastrous Indian war, New England, jealous of independence, never applied to the parent country for assistance. "You are poor," said the earl of Anglesey, "and yet proud." The English ministry, contributing nothing to repair colonial losses, made no secret of its intention to "reassume the government of Massachusetts," and while the ground was still wet with the blood of her yeomanry, the ruins of her villages were still smoking, and the Indian war-cry was yet ringing in the forests of Maine, the committee of the privy council for plantations "did agree that this was the conjuncture to do something effectual for the better regulation of that government, or else all hopes of it might be hereafter lost." The choice of its agent fell upon Edward Randolph, who at the same time was intrusted by Robert Mason with the care of his claims to New Hampshire; so that he menaced at once the extent, the trade, and the charter of Massachusetts.

Arriving in June, 1676, the emissary immediately demanded of Leverett the governor, that the letter which he

bore from the king should with convenient speed be read to the magistrates. The governor professed ignorance of the officer whose signature as secretary of state was affixed to the letter, and denied the right of the king or of parliament to bind the colony by laws adverse to its interests. To complaints of the neglect of the act of navigation, he answered: "The king can in reason do no less than let us enjoy our liberties and trade, for we have made this large plantation in the wilderness at our own charge, without any contribution from the crown."

Randolph, who was received only as the agent for Mason, belonged to that class of hungry adventurers with whom America became familiar. Returning to England, after a residence of but six weeks in the New World, he exaggerated the population of the country fourfold, and its wealth in a still greater proportion. On his false reports, the English ministry grew more zealous to employ him; and, in the course of nine years, he made eight voyages to America.

The colony, reluctantly yielding to the direct commands of Charles II., despatched William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley as its envoys to England; but, agreeably to the advice of the elders, circumscribed their powers "with the utmost care and caution." The oath of fidelity to the local government was revived throughout the jurisdiction.

In a memorial respecting the extent of their territory, the general court represented their peculiar unhappiness, to be required, at one and the same time, to maintain before courts of law a title to the provinces, and to dispute with a savage foe the possession of dismal deserts. Remonstrance was of no avail. In 1677, a committee of the privy council, which examined all the charters, denied to Massachusetts the right of jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire. The decision was so manifestly in conformity with English law that the colonial agents attempted no serious resistance.

These provinces being thus severed from the government of Massachusetts, King Charles was willing to secure them as an appanage for his reputed son, the kind-hearted, worthless duke of Monmouth, the Absalom of that day, whose frivolous ambition involved him in a dishonest opposition to his father,

and at last conducted him to the scaffold. It was thought that the united provinces might form a noble principality, with an immediate and increasing revenue. But in May, 1677, before the monarch, whom extravagance had impoverished, could resolve on a negotiation, Massachusetts, through a Boston merchant, purchased the claims of Gorges for twelve hundred and fifty pounds.

In a pecuniary point of view, the transaction was for Massachusetts most injurious; for it threw upon her the defence of a wide and most exposed frontier. But she did not, at this time, come into possession of the whole territory which now forms the state of Maine. France, under the treaty of Breda, occupied the district from the St. Croix to the Penobscot, and claimed the Kennebec as the line of separation between its rightful possessions and those of England; the duke of York held the tract between the Penobscot and the Kennebec, pretending, indeed, to own all that lies between the Kennebec and the St. Croix; while Massachusetts, as the successor to Gorges, was proprietary only of the district between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua.

A novel form of political institution ensued. Massachusetts, in its corporate capacity, was become the lord proprietary of Maine. The district had thus far been represented in the Massachusetts house of representatives; in obedience to an ordinance of the general court, the governor and assistants, in 1680, organized its government as a province, according to the charter to Gorges; the president and council were appointed by the magistrates of Massachusetts; at the same time, a popular legislative branch was established, composed of deputies from the several towns in the district. Danforth, who was selected to be the first president, was a man of superior worth; yet the pride of the province was offended by its subordination; the old religious differences had not lost their influence; and royalists and churchmen prayed for the interposition of the king. Massachusetts was compelled to employ force to assert its sovereignty, which, nevertheless, was exercised with moderation and justice.

On the first apprehension that the claim of Mason would be revived, the people of New Hampshire, in their town-

meetings, expressed their content with the government of Massachusetts. But the popular wish availed little in the decision of a question of law; the patent of Mason was found on investigation to confer no jurisdiction; the unappropriated lands were allowed to belong to him; but the rights of the settlers to the soil which they actually occupied were reserved for litigation in colonial courts. In July, 1679, New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, and organized as a royal province. It was the earliest royal government in New England. The king, reserving a negative voice to himself and his officers, engaged to continue the privilege of an assembly, unless he or his heirs should deem that privilege "an inconvenience." The persons he first named to the offices of president and council were residents of the colony, and friends to the colonists; but, perceiving that their appointment had no other object than to render the transition to a new form of government less intolerable, they accepted office reluctantly.

At length a general assembly was convened at Portsmouth, and it was thus that New Hampshire, in March, 1680, addressed its more powerful neighbor: "We thankfully acknowledge your kindness while we dwelt under your shadow, owning ourselves deeply obliged that, on our earnest request, you took us under your government, and ruled us well. If there be opportunity for us to be any wise serviceable to you, we shall show how ready we are to embrace it. Wishing the presence of God to be with you, we crave the benefit of your prayers on us, who are separated from our brethren."

The colony then proceeded to assert its rights by a solemn decree, the first in its new code: "No act, imposition, law, or ordinance shall be valid, unless made by the assembly and approved by the people." New Hampshire seized the earliest moment of its separate existence to take its place by the side of Massachusetts and Virginia. But its code was disapproved in England both for style and matter; and its provisions were rejected as incongruous and absurd.

Nor was Mason successful in establishing his claims to the soil. The colonial government protected the colonists, and restrained his exactions. Hastening to England to solicit a change, he was allowed to make such arrangements as would

promote his own interests. Himself a party in suits to be commenced, he was authorized to select the person to be appointed governor. He found a fit agent in Edward Cranfield, a man who had no object in banishing himself to America but to wrest a fortune from the sawyers and lumber-dealers of New Hampshire. By a deed enrolled in chancery, Mason, in January, 1682, surrendered one fifth part of all quit-rents to the king for the support of the governor, and gave a mortgage of the province for twenty-one years, as collateral security for the payment of his salary. Obtaining further the exclusive right to the anticipated harvest of fines and forfeitures, Cranfield relinquished a profitable employment in England, and embarked for the banks of the Piscataqua.

But the assembly which he convened, in November, 1682, dispelled his golden visions. The "rugged" legislators voted him a gratuity of two hundred and fifty pounds; but they would not yield their liberties; and in their session of January, 1683, he dissolved them. The dissolution of an assembly was, in New England, till then unheard of; a crowd of rash men raised the cry for "liberty and reformation." The leader, Edward Gove, an unlettered enthusiast, was confined in irons, condemned to death for treason, and, having been transported to England, was kept a prisoner in the Tower of London till 1686. Lawsuits about land were multiplied. Packed juries and partial judges settled questions rapidly; but Mason could neither get possession of the estates nor find a purchaser.

Repairing to Boston, in February, 1683, Cranfield wrote to the British ministry that should the duke of York survive Charles II., Massachusetts, buoyed up by the non-conformist party in England, would at once fall from their allegiance to the crown. He therefore advised for that country "a thorough regulation," and enforced the necessity of sending a frigate to Boston harbor till the government should pass "into the hands of loyal and honest gentlemen, and the faction be made incapable ever after of altering or disturbing that government."

In 1683, Cranfield, with a subservient council, began to exercise powers of legislation. When the towns privately sent an agent to England, Vaughan, who had been active in obtaining depositions for his use, was required to find securities

for good behavior. He refused, declaring that he had broken no law; and the governor immediately imprisoned him.

Cranfield, in his longing for money, stooped to falsehood, and, in January, 1684, hastily calling an assembly, on a vague rumor of an invasion, laid before them a bill granting a sudden supply. The representatives, after debate, negatived the bill.

To intimidate the clergy, he forbade the usual exercise of church discipline. In Portsmouth, Moody, the minister, replied to his threats by a sermon, and the church was inflexible. Cranfield, asserting that the ecclesiastical laws of England were in force in the colony, ordered the people to keep Christmas as a festival, and to fast on the thirtieth of January. But his capital stroke of policy was an order that all persons should be admitted to the Lord's Supper as freely as in the Episcopal or Lutheran church, and that the English liturgy should in certain cases be adopted. The order was disregarded. The governor himself appointed a day, on which he claimed to receive the elements at the hands of Moody, after the forms of the English church. Moody refused; was prosecuted, condemned, and imprisoned. Religious worship was almost entirely broken up. But the people did not yield; and Cranfield, vexed at the stubbornness of the clergy, gave information in England that, "while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found." It had long been evident "there could be no quiet till the factious preachers were turned out of the province."

In 1684, an attempt was made to impose taxes by the vote of the council. That the people might the less reluctantly pay them, a report of a war with the eastern Indians was spread abroad; and Cranfield made a visit to New York, under pretence of concerting measures with the governor of that province. The committee of plantations had been warned that, "without some visible force to keep the people of New Hampshire under, it would be a difficult or impossible thing to execute his majesty's commands or the laws of trade." Associations were formed for mutual support in resisting the collection of illegal taxes. At Exeter, the sheriff was driven off with clubs, and the farmers' wives threatened to scald his officer if he should attempt to attach property in the house.

If rioters were committed, they were rescued by a new riot; when, in January, 1685, the troop of horse was ordered out, not a man obeyed the summons.

Cranfield, in despair, wrote imploringly to the government in England: "I shall esteem it the greatest happiness in the world to be allowed to remove from these unreasonable people. They cavil at the royal commission, and not at my person. No one will be accepted by them, who puts the king's commands in execution." His conduct met with approbation, and he was allowed to withdraw from the province. The character of New Hampshire remained unchanged. It was ever esteemed in England "factious in its economy, affording no exemplary precedents" to the friends of arbitrary power.

Massachusetts might, perhaps, still have defied the king, and escaped or overawed the privy council; but the merchants and manufacturers of England, fearing a rival beyond the ocean, discerned how their monopoly might be sustained, and pressed steadily toward their object. Their complaints had, in 1675, been received with favor; their selfish reasoning was heard with a willingness to be convinced.

The agents of the colony, in 1676, had brought with them no sufficient power: "They professed their willingness to pay duties to the king within the plantation, provided they might be allowed to import the necessary commodities of Europe without entering first in England." An amnesty for the past would readily have been conceded; for the future, it was resolved "to consider the whole matter from the very root," and to reduce Massachusetts to "a more palpable dependence." That this might be done with its consent, the agents were enjoined to procure larger powers; but no larger powers were granted.

It was against fearful odds that Massachusetts continued the struggle. All England was united. Whatever party triumphed, the mercantile interest would readily procure an enforcement of the laws of trade. "The country's neglect of the acts of navigation," wrote the agents, "has been most unhappy. Without a compliance in that matter, nothing can be expected but a total breach." "All the storms of displeasure" would be let loose.

It was not, therefore, a surprise when, in April, 1678, the committee of plantations directed the attorney and solicitor-general to report whether the original charter had any legal entity, what was the effect of the quo warranto brought against it in 1635, and, lastly, whether the corporation had forfeited their charter by maladministration of its powers. In the following month the opinion of the crown lawyers, Jones and Winnington, was given, that the charter, if originally good, had not been dissolved by any quo warranto or judgment, but that the misdemeanors objected against the corporation were sufficient to avoid their patent. The committee immediately decided that a quo warranto should be brought against the charter of Massachusetts, and "new laws framed instead of such as were repugnant to the laws of England;" and Randolph was at once appointed "collector of his majesty's customs in New England." Many of the committee were confirmed in their belief that a general governor and a colonial judicature of the king's appointment were become "altogether necessary."

In Massachusetts a synod of all the churches was convened, to inquire into the causes of the dangers to New England liberty, and the mode of removing the evils. The general court, in 1678 and 1679, enacted laws, partially removing the grounds of complaint. High treason was made a capital offence; the oath of allegiance was required of every male above sixteen years in the colony; the king's arms were "carved by an able artist and erected in the court-house." The colony was unwilling to forfeit its charter and its religious liberties on a pecuniary question, and yet to acknowledge its readiness to submit to an act of parliament would be a surrender of the privilege of independent legislation. It therefore declared that "the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament." "The laws of England," it added, "do not reach America." The general court then gave validity to the laws of navigation by an act of its own. "We would not," so they wrote to their agents, "that by any concessions of ours, or of yours in our behalf, any the least stone should be put out of the wall, and we hope that his majesty's favor will be as the north wind to scatter the clouds."

The committee of plantations proposed, as measures to be immediately adopted, that the bishop of London should appoint a minister to reside in Boston, and that conformists to the church of England should be admitted to all freedoms and privileges of the colony. The settlement of weightier matters was postponed till the charter should be set aside by a court of law.

In December, 1679, the agents, Stoughton and Bulkeley, arrived in Boston. About the same time came Randolph, whose patent as collector was recognised and enrolled, but who as yet received no help in the administration of his office. The commands of the king, that other agents should be sent over with unlimited powers, were not followed. Twice did Charles II. remonstrate against the disobedience of his subjects; twice did Randolph cross the Atlantic and return to England, to assist in directing measures against Massachusetts. The commonwealth continued its system of procrastination. But the extravagances and crimes of the anti-popery party in England soon brought about a reaction, and the king, dissolving parliament and making use of subservient courts, was left the undisputed master in his kingdom. A letter from him to Massachusetts announced categorically that agents must be sent over with full powers, or measures would be taken "whereby their charter might be legally evicted and made void." Moved by the nearness of the danger, the general court, in February, 1682, selected Joseph Dudley and John Richards as its agents. France had succeeded in bribing the king to betray the interests of England; Massachusetts was willing to purchase of him clemency toward its liberties.

The commission of the deputies was condemned by the privy council as insufficient, because they were expressly enjoined to consent to nothing that should infringe the privileges of the government established under the charter. In September, 1682, they were ordered to obtain full powers for the entire regulation of the government, or the method of a judicial process would be adopted. The agents represented the condition of the colony as desperate. Was it not safest for the colony to decline a contest, and throw itself upon the favor or forbearance of the king? Such was the theme of universal

discussion; it entered into the prayers of families; it filled the sermons of the ministers; and, finally, Massachusetts resolved, in a manner that showed it to be distinctly the sentiment of the people, to resign the territory of Maine, which was held by purchase, but not to concede one liberty or one privilege which was held by charter. If liberty was to receive its death-blow, better that it should die by the violence and injustice of others than by their own weakness.

Before the end of July, 1683, the quo warranto was issued; Massachusetts was arraigned before an English tribunal, under judges holding their office at the pleasure of the crown; and in October, Randolph, the hated messenger, arrived in Boston with the writ. At the same time, a declaration from the king asked once more for submission, promising as a reward the royal favor, and the fewest alterations in the charter consistent with the support of a royal government. To render submission in Massachusetts easy by showing that opposition was desperate, two hundred copies of the proceedings against London were sent over to be dispersed among the people. The governor and assistants, now eighteen in number, were persuaded of the hopelessness of further resistance; even a tardy surrender of the charter might conciliate the monarch. On the fifteenth of November, they therefore resolved to remind the king of his promises, and "not to contend with his majesty in a court of law," they would "send agents, empowered to receive his majesty's commands."

The magistrates referred their vote to "their brethren the deputies" for concurrence. During a full fortnight the subject was debated.

"Ought the government of Massachusetts," thus it was argued, "submit to the pleasure of the court as to alteration of their charter? Submission would be an offence against the majesty of Heaven; the religion of the people of New England and the court's pleasure cannot consist together. By submission Massachusetts will gain nothing. The court design an essential alteration, destructive to the vitals of the charter. The corporations in England that have made an entire resignation have no advantage over those that have stood a suit in law; but, if we maintain a suit, though we should be condemned,

we may bring the matter to chancery or to a parliament, and in time recover all again. We ought not to act contrary to that way in which God hath owned our worthy predecessors, who, in 1638, when there was a quo warranto against the charter, durst not submit. In 1664, they did not submit to the commissioners. We, their successors, should walk in their steps, and so trust in the God of our fathers that we shall see his salvation. Submission would gratify our adversaries and grieve our friends. Our enemies know it will sound ill in the world for them to take away the liberties of a poor people of God in a wilderness. A resignation will bring slavery upon us sooner than otherwise it would be; and will grieve our friends in other colonies, whose eyes are now upon New England, expecting that the people there will not, through fear, give a pernicious example unto others.

"Blind obedience to the pleasure of the court cannot be without great sin, and incurring the high displeasure of the King of kings. Submission would be contrary unto that which has been the unanimous advice of the ministers, given after a solemn day of prayer. The ministers of God in New England have more of the spirit of John Baptist in them, than now, when a storm hath overtaken them, to be reeds shaken with the wind. The priests were to be the first that set their foot in the waters, and there to stand till the danger be past. Of all men, they should be an example to the Lord's people, of faith, courage, and constancy. Unquestionably, if the blessed Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, Mather, Shepherd, Mitchell, were now living, they would, as is evident from their printed books, say, Do not sin in giving away the inheritance of your fathers.

"Nor ought we submit without the consent of the body of the people. But the freemen and church members throughout New England will never consent hereunto. Therefore the government may not do it.

"The civil liberties of New England are part of the inheritance of their fathers; and shall we give that inheritance away? Is it objected that we shall be exposed to great sufferings? Better suffer than sin. It is better to trust the God of our fathers than to put confidence in princes. If we suffer

because we dare not comply with the wills of men against the will of God, we suffer in a good cause, and shall be accounted martyrs in the next generation and at the great day."

At the request of the select men in Boston, Increase Mather, contrary to his wont, appeared at a town-meeting, and encouraged and excited the people to stand by their charter privileges. The decision of the representatives of the colony, made on the last day of November, 1683, is on record: "The deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills."

Addresses were forwarded to the king, urging forbearance; but entreaty and remonstrance were vain. The suit which had been begun in the court of the king's bench was dropped; a scire facias was issued from the court of chancery in England; and before the colony could act upon it, on the eighteenth of June, 1684, just one year and six days after the judgment against the city of London, the charter was conditionally adjudged to be forfeited. The judgment was confirmed on the first day of the Michaelmas term.

Thus fell the charter, which had been brought by the fleet of Winthrop to the shores of New England, and had been cherished with courage through every vicissitude. Massachusetts having lost its safeguards against absolute power and fallen into the hands of the king, his privy council took into consideration what was to be done with it. The question was thoroughly considered whether a government like that of England should be introduced into the colonies, or if their inhabitants should be ruled by a royal governor and council with authority limited only by royal instructions. Lord Halifax insisted with energy that the laws of England ought beyond a doubt to be established in a country composed of Englishmen; and omitted none of the reasons by which it may be proved that an absolute government is neither so happy nor so safe as one which sets bounds to the authority of the prince. For himself, he declared that he would never live under a king who should have power to take money from his pocket whenever it pleased him. The other ministers, avoiding a discussion of the best form of government, maintained that the crown could and ought to govern countries so remote from

England, as it should deem best. The council resolved that there was no need of a colonial assembly to grant taxes and regulate other important matters; but that the governor and council should act, according to their own judgment, with no accountability except to his British majesty. Louis XIV., after reading a report of this debate, warned the king of England against listening to an adviser like Halifax on the manner of governing New England; and it was decided that, in those distant regions, the whole power, legislative as well as executive, should abide in the crown.

A copy of the judgment against the charter of Massachusetts was received in Boston on the second of July of the following year; but, before that day, the duke of York had ascended the throne.

Gloomy forebodings overspread New England. The confederacy of the Calvinist colonies had already died of apathy. The restoration of monarchy, in 1660, had been the signal for its decline. By its articles no two colonies could be joined in one except with the consent of the whole; and the charter by which Charles II. annexed New Haven to Connecticut proved that there was a higher power, which overruled their decisions and paralyzed their acts. From that epoch the meetings of the commissioners were held but once in three years. The dangers of the Indian war roused their dying energies. After the peace at Boston, in 1681, they did but settle a few small war-claims; their only meeting after the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts was in September, 1684, at Hartford, from which place they appointed a day of fasting to bewail the rebukes and threatening from Heaven, and their last word was "for the defence of the Protestant religion."

CHAPTER VII.

SHAFTESBURY AND LOCKE LEGISLATE FOR CAROLINA.

Meantime, civilization had advanced at the South; and twin stars were emerging beyond the limits of Virginia, in the country over which Soto had rambled in quest of gold, where Calvinists, befriended by Coligny, had sought a refuge, and where Raleigh had attempted to found colonial principalities.

In March, 1663, the province of Carolina, extending from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude to the river San Matheo, was erected into one territory; and the earl of Clarendon; Monk, now duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven, a brave cavalier; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterward earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton; Lord Berkeley; Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia; and the passionate, ignorant, and not too honest Sir George Carteret—were constituted its proprietors and immediate sovereigns. No authority was reserved to the crown but a barren allegiance.

The territory now granted was included by the Spaniards within the limits of Florida; and the castle of St. Augustine was deemed proof of the actual possession of an indefinite adjacent country. Spain had not yet formally acknowledged the English title to any possessions in America; and the treaty concluded at Madrid, in May, 1667, did but faintly concede the right of England to transatlantic colonies, and to a continuance of commerce in "the accustomed seas." Three years later she recognised as English the colonies which were then in the possession of England, but their boundaries in the south and west were not determined.

And not Spain only claimed Carolina. In 1630, a patent for all the territory had been issued to Sir Robert Heath;

and there is room to believe that, in 1639, permanent plantations were planned and perhaps attempted by his assign. William Hawley appeared in Virginia as "governor of Carolina," the land between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth parallels of latitude; and leave was granted by the Virginia legislature that it might be colonized by one hundred persons from Virginia, "freemen, being single, and disengaged of debt." The attempts were certainly unsuccessful, for, in 1663, the patent was declared void, because the purposes for which it was granted had never been fulfilled.

In 1660 or 1661, New England men had found their way into the Cape Fear river, had purchased of the Indian chiefs a title to the soil, and had planted a little colony of herdsmen far to the south of any English settlement on the continent. They had partners in London, and, within five months of the grant of Carolina, their agents pleaded their discovery, occupancy, and purchase, as affording a valid title to the soil, while they claimed the privileges of self-government as a natural right. A compromise was offered; and the proprietaries, in their "proposals to all that would plant in Carolina," promised emigrants from New England religious freedom, a governor and council to be elected from among a number whom the emigrants themselves should nominate, a representative assembly, independent legislation, subject only to the negative of the proprietaries, land at a rent of a halfpenny an acre, and such freedom from customs as the charter would warrant. Yet the lands were not inviting to men who could choose their abodes from the whole wilderness; and, though Massachusetts, the young mother of colonies, in May, 1667, ministered to their wants by a general contribution through her settlements, the infant town planted on Oldtown creek, near the south side of Cape Fear river, was soon after abandoned.

The conditions offered to the colony of Cape Fear "were not intended for the meridian" of Virginia. "There," said the proprietaries, in their instructions to Sir William Berkeley, "we hope to find more facile people" than the New England men. They intrusted the affair entirely to Sir William's management. He was to get settlers as cheaply as possible; yet at any rate to get settlers.

As in Massachusetts, the plantations of Virginia extended along the sea. The banks of Nansemond river had been settled as early as 1609. In 1622, Pory, then secretary of the Old Dominion, travelled to the land on the river Chowan, and, on his return, celebrated the kindness of its native people, its fertility, and happy climate, that yielded two harvests in each year. Twenty-one years after the excursion of Pory, a company, that had heard of the region south-west of the Appomattox, obtained leave of the Virginia legislature to engage in its discovery, under the promise of a fourteen years' monopoly of the profits. Parties for the south, not less than for the west, continued to be encouraged by similar grants. The sons of Governor Yeardley wrote to England with pride, that the northern country of Carolina had been explored by "Virginians born."

A company from Nansemond county, led by Roger Green, were the first to show the way from Virginia to the rivers that flow into Albemarle sound. Green was rewarded, in 1653, by the grant of a thousand acres, while ten thousand acres were offered to any hundred persons who would plant on the banks of the Roanoke, or the south side of the Chowan and its tributary streams. Thomas Dew, once the speaker of the assembly, formed a plan for exploring the navigable rivers between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear. The first settlements on Albemarle sound were a result of spontaneous overflowings from Virginia. Perhaps a few families were planted within the limits of Carolina before the restoration. At that period, men who were impatient of enforced religious conformity, and distrusted the new government in Virginia, plunged more deeply into the forests. It is known that, in 1662, the chief of a tribe of Indians granted to George Durant the neck of land which still bears his name; and, in the following year, George Cathmaid could claim a large grant of land upon the sound, for having established sixty-seven persons in Carolina. In September, the colony had attracted the attention of the proprietaries; and Berkeley was commissioned to institute a government over the region, which, in honor of Monk, received the name of Albemarle, that time has transferred to the bay. The plantations were chiefly on the north-east bank of the Chowan;

and, as the mouth of that river is north of the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, they were not included in the first patent of Carolina. Yet Berkeley, who was but governor of Virginia, and was a joint proprietary of Carolina, obeyed his interest as landholder more than his duty as governor; and, severing the settlement from the Ancient Dominion, established a separate government over men who had already, at least in part, obtained a grant of their lands from the aboriginal lords of the soil. He appointed William Drummond, an emigrant to Virginia from Scotland, a man of prudence and popularity, to be the governor of Northern Carolina; and, conforming to instructions from his associates, he instituted a simple form of government, a Carolina assembly, and an easy tenure of lands; leaving the infant people to enjoy liberty of conscience and to forget the world, till quit-rents should fall due. Such was the origin of fixed settlements in North Carolina.

But not New England and Virginia only turned their eyes to the southern part of our republic. In 1663, several planters of Barbados, dissatisfied with their condition, and desiring to establish a colony under their own exclusive direction, despatched a vessel to examine the country. The careful explorers reported that the climate was agreeable and the soil of various qualities; that game abounded; that the natives promised peace. They purchased of the Indians a tract of land thirty-two miles square, on Cape Fear river, near the neglected settlement of the New Englanders; and their employers begged of the proprietaries a confirmation of the purchase and a separate charter of government. Not all their request was granted; yet liberal terms were offered; and Sir John Yeamans, the son of a cavalier, a needy baronet, who, to mend his fortune, had become a Barbados planter, was appointed governor, with a jurisdiction extending from Cape Fear to the San Matheo. The country was called Clarendon. "Make things easy to the people of New England; from thence the greatest supplies are expected:" such were his instructions. In the autumn of 1665, under an ample grant of liberties for the colony, he conducted a band of emigrants from Barbados, and on the south bank of Cape Fear river laid the foundation of a town, which flourished so little that its site is

at this day a subject of dispute. Yet the colony, barren as were the plains around them, exported boards and shingles and staves to Barbados. The traffic was profitable; emigration increased; and it has been said that, in 1666, the plantation contained eight hundred souls. Yeamans, who understood the nature of colonial trade, managed its affairs without reproach.

The proprietaries of Carolina, having collected minute information respecting the coast, coveted an extension of their domains. Indifferent to the claims of Virginia, and in contempt of the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine, Clarendon and his associates, in June, 1665, obtained from the king a new charter, which granted to them all the land lying between twenty-nine degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The soil, and, under the limitation of a nominal allegiance, the sovereignty, were theirs, with the power of legislation, subject to the consent of the future freemen of the colony. The grant of privileges was ample, like those to Rhode Island and Connecticut. An express clause opened the way for religious freedom; another held out to the proprietaries a hope of revenue from colonial customs, to be imposed in colonial ports by Carolina legislatures; another gave them the power of erecting cities and manors, counties and baronies, and of establishing orders of nobility with other than English titles. The power to levy troops, to erect fortifications, to make war by sea and land on their enemies, and to exercise martial law in cases of necessity, was not withheld. Every favor was extended to the proprietaries; nothing was neglected but the interests of the English sovereign and the rights of the colonists. Imagination encouraged every extravagant hope; and Ashley Cooper, afterward earl of Shaftesbury, the most active and the most able of the corporators, was, in 1668, deputed by them to frame for the dawning states a perfect constitution, worthy to endure throughout all ages.

Shaftesbury was at this time in the maturity of his genius; celebrated for eloquence, philosophic acuteness, and sagacity; high in power, and of aspiring ambition. Born to hereditary wealth, the pupil of Prideaux had given his early years to the

assiduous pursuit of knowledge; and from boyhood the intellectual part of his nature held the mastery. Cradled in politics and chosen a member of parliament at the age of nineteen, his long public career was checkered by the greatest varieties of success. His party connections were affected by the revolutions of the times; and he has been charged with political inconsistency. But men of great mental power, though they may often change their instruments, change their principles and their objects rarely. He often shifted his associates, never his purposes; alike the enemy to absolute monarchy and to democratic influence, he connected his own aggrandizement with the privileges and interests of British commerce, of Protestant religious liberty, and of the landed aristocracy of England. In the Long Parliament, he acted with the people against absolute power; but, while Vane adhered to the parliament from love of popular rights, Shaftesbury adhered to it as the guardian of aristocratic liberty. Under Cromwell, Shaftesbury was still the opponent of arbitrary power. At the restoration, he would not tolerate an agreement with the king; such agreement, at that time, could not but have been democratic; and the nobility sought, in the plenitude of the royal power, an ally against the people. When Charles II. showed a disposition to become, like Louis XIV., superior to the gentry as well as to the democracy, Shaftesbury, from hostility to the supporters of prerogative, joined the party opposed to the ultra royalists. The party which he represented, the great aristocracy of blood and of wealth, had to sustain itself between the people on one side and the monarch on the other. The "nobility" was, in his view, the "rock" of "English principles;" the power of the peerage and of arbitrary monarchy were "as two buckets, of which one goes down exactly as the other goes up." In the people of England, as the depository of power and freedom, Shaftesbury had no confidence; his system protected wealth and privilege; and he desired to intrust the conservative principles of society to the exclusive custody of the favored classes. Cromwell had proposed, and Vane had advocated, a reform in parliament; Shaftesbury showed no disposition to diminish the influence of the nobility over the lower house.

The personal character of Shaftesbury was analogous to his political principles. He loved wealth without being a slave to avarice, and, though he would have made no scruple of "robbing the devil or the altar," and, as lord chancellor, sometimes received a present, his judgment was never suspected of a bias. Careless of precedents, usages, and bar-rules, he was quick to discern the right, and to render an equitable decision. Everybody applauded but the lawyers; they censured the contempt of ancient forms, the diminished weight of authority, and the neglect of legal erudition; the historians, the poets, common fame, even his enemies, declared that never had a judge possessed more discerning eyes or cleaner hands:

"Unbribed, unbought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of despatch and easy of access."

Nobody questioned that, as a royalist minister, he might have "freely gathered the golden fruit;" but he disdained the monarch's favor, and stood firmly by the vested rights of his order.

In person he was small, and alike irritable and versatile. It belongs to such a man to have cunning rather than wisdom; celerity rather than dignity; the high powers of abstraction and generalization rather than the still higher power of successful action. He transacted business with an admirable ease and mastery, for his lucid understanding delighted in general principles; but he could not successfully control men, for he had neither conduct in the direction of a party nor integrity in the choice of means. He would use a prejudice as soon as an argument; would stimulate a superstition as soon as wake truth to the battle; would flatter a crowd or court a king. Despising the people, he attempted to guide them by inflaming their passions.

This contempt for humanity punishes itself; Shaftesbury was destitute of the healthy judgment which comes from sympathy with his fellow-men. Alive to the force of an argument, he never could judge of its effect on other minds; his subtle wit, prompt to seize on the motives to conduct and the natural affinities of parties, could not discern the moral obstacles to new combinations. He had no natural sense of propriety; he despised gravity as, what indeed it often is, the affec-

tation of dulness, and thought it no condescension to charm by drollery. Himself without veneration for prescriptive usage, he never could estimate the difficulty of abrogating a form or overcoming a prejudice. His mind regarded purposes and results, and he did not so much defy appearances as rest ignorant of their power. Desiring to exclude the duke of York from the throne, no delicacy of sentiment restrained him from proposing the succession to the uncertain issue of an abandoned woman, who had once been mistress to the king, and he saw no cruelty in urging Charles II. to divorce a confiding wife, who had the blemish of barrenness.

The same want of common feeling, joined to a surprising mobility, left Shaftesbury in ignorance of the energy of religious convictions. Skeptics are apt to be superstitious; the moral restlessness of perpetual doubt often superinduces nervous timidity. Shaftesbury would not fear God, but he watched the stars; he did not receive Christianity, and he could not reject astrology.

Excellent in counsel, Shaftesbury was poor as an executive agent. His spirit fretted at delay, and grew feverish with waiting. His eager impetuosity betrayed his designs, and, when unoccupied, his vexed and anxious mind lost its balance, and planned desperate counsels. In times of tranquillity, he was too restless for success; but, when the storm was really come, and old landmarks were washed away and the wonted lights in the heavens were darkened, Shaftesbury was self-possessed, and knew how to evolve a rule of conduct from general principles.

At a time when John Locke was unknown to the world, Shaftesbury detected the riches of his mind, and chose him for a friend and adviser in the work of legislation for Carolina. Locke was at this time in the midway of life, adorning the clearest understanding with gentleness, good humor, and ingenuousness. Of a sunny disposition, he could be choleric without malice, and gay without levity. He was a most dutiful son. In dialectics he was unparalleled, except by his patron. Esteeming the pursuit of truth as the first object of life, and its attainment as the criterion of dignity, he never sacrificed a conviction to an interest. The ill success of the

democratic revolution of England had made him an enemy to popular innovations. He had seen the commons of England incapable of retaining the precious conquest they had made, and, being neither a theorist like Milton nor a tory like Tillotson, he cherished what, at that day, were called English principles, looking to the aristocracy as the surest adversaries of arbitrary power. Emphatically free from avarice, he could yet, as a political writer, deify liberty under the form of wealth; to him slavery seemed no unrighteous institution; and he defines "political power to be the right of making laws for regulating and preserving property." Having no kindling love for ideal excellence, he abhorred the designs and disbelieved the promises of democracy; he could sneer at the enthusiasm of Friends. Unlike Penn, he believed it possible to construct the future according to the forms of the past. No voice of God within his soul called him away from the usages of England; and, as he went forth to lay the foundations of civil government in the wilderness, he bowed his understanding to the persuasive influence of Shaftesbury. But the political institutions of the United States were not formed by giant minds, or "nobles after the flesh." American history knows but one avenue to success in American legislation—freedom from ancient prejudice. The truly great law-givers in our colonies first became as little children.

In framing constitutions for Carolina, Locke forgot that there can be no such thing as a creation of laws; for laws are but the arrangement of men in society, and good laws are but the arrangement of men in society in their just and natural relations. It is the prerogative of self-government that it adapts itself to every circumstance which can arise. Its institutions, if often defective, are always appropriate; for they are the exact representation of the condition of a people, and can be evil only because there are evils in society, exactly as a coat may suit an ill-shaped person. Habits of thought and action fix their stamp on the public code; the faith, the prejudices, the hopes of a people, may be read there; and, as knowledge advances, each erroneous judgment, each perverse enactment, yields to the embodied force of the common will. Success

in legislating for Carolina could only have resulted from the counsels of the emigrants themselves.

The constitutions for Carolina are the most signal attempt within the United States to connect political power with hereditary wealth. America was rich in every form of representative government; its political life was so varied that, in modern constitutions, hardly a method of constituting an upper or a popular house has thus far been suggested, of which the character and the operation had not already been tested in the experience of our fathers. In Carolina the disputes of a thousand years were crowded into a generation.

Europe suffered from obsolete but not inoperative laws; no statute of Carolina was to bind beyond a century; Europe suffered from the multiplication of law-books and the perplexities of the law; in Carolina not a commentary might be written on the constitutions, the statutes, or the common law; Europe suffered from the furies of bigotry; Carolina promised toleration to "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," to "men of any religion." In other respects, "the interests of the proprietors," the desire of "a government most agreeable to monarchy," and the dread of "a numerous democracy," are avowed as the motives for forming the fundamental constitutions of Carolina.

The proprietaries, as sovereigns, were a close corporation of eight members; a number which was never to be diminished or increased. The dignity was hereditary; in default of heirs, the survivors elected a successor. The body was self-renewing and immortal.

For purposes of settlement, the almost boundless territory was to be divided into counties, each containing four hundred and eighty thousand acres. The creation of two orders of nobility—one landgrave or earl, and two caciques or barons for each county—preceded the distribution of lands into five equal parts, of which one remained the inalienable property of the proprietaries, and another formed the inalienable and indivisible estates of the nobility. The remaining three fifths were reserved for what was called the people; and might be held by lords of manors who were not hereditary legislators, but, like the nobility, might exercise judicial powers in their

baronial courts. The number of the nobility might neither be increased nor diminished; election supplied the places left vacant for want of heirs; for, by an agrarian principle, estates and dignities were not allowed to accumulate.

The instinct of aristocracy dreads the moral power of proprietary cultivators of the soil; their perpetual degradation was enacted. The leet-men, or tenants, holding ten acres of land at a fixed rent, were to be not only destitute of political franchises, but adscripts to the soil; "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal;" and it was added, "all the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations."

Grotius had defended slavery as a rightful condition; a few years later, William Penn owned African bondmen; Locke proposed, without compunction, that every freeman of Carolina should have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves.

By the side of the seigniories, baronies, and manors, room was left for freeholders; but no elective franchise could be conferred on a freeholder of less than fifty acres, and no eligibility to the parliament on a freehold of less than five hundred.

All executive power, and, in the last resort, all judiciary power, rested with the proprietaries themselves. The seven subordinate courts had each a proprietary for its chief; and, of the forty-two counsellors of whom they were composed, twenty-eight were appointed by the proprietaries of the nobility. The judiciary was placed beyond the reach of popular influence. To one aristocratic court was intrusted the superintendence of the press; and, as if not only men would submit their minds, but women their tastes, and children their pastimes, to a tribunal, another court had cognizance of "ceremonies and pedigrees, of fashions and sports." Of the fifty who composed the grand council of Carolina, fourteen only represented the commons, and of these the tenure of office was for life.

The constitutions recognised four estates—the proprietaries, the landgraves, the caciques, and the commons. In the parliament all the estates assembled in one chamber; the proprie-

taries appear by deputies; the commons elected four members for every three of the nobility; but large proprietors were alone eligible. An aristocratic majority might, therefore, always be relied upon; but, to prevent danger, three methods, reproduced in part in modern monarchical constitutions, were adopted: the proprietaries reserved to themselves a negative on all the proceedings of parliament; no measure could be initiated, except through the grand council; and, in case of constitutional objection to a law, either of the four estates might interpose a veto. Popular enfranchisement was made an impossibility. Executive, judicial, and legislative power was each beyond the control of the people.

In trials by jury the majority decided—a rule dangerous to the oppressed; for, where moral courage is requisite for an acquittal, more than a small minority cannot always be expected. A clause, which declared it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward," could not but compel the less educated classes to establish between themselves and the nobility the relation of clients and patrons.

Such were the constitutions devised for Carolina by Shaftesbury and Locke, by the statesman who was the type of the revolution of 1688, and the sage who was the antagonist of Leibnitz and William Penn. Several American writers have attempted to exonerate Locke from a share in the work which they condemn; but it harmonizes with the principles of his philosophy and with his theories on government. To his late old age he preserved the evidence of his legislative labors; and his admirers esteemed him the superior of the contemporary Quaker king, the rival of "the ancient philosophers" to whom the world had "erected statues."

The constitutions were signed on the twenty-first of July, 1669. In a second draft, against the wishes of Locke, a clause was interpolated, declaring that, while every religion should be tolerated, the church of England, as the only true and orthodox church, was to be the national religion of Carolina, and was alone to receive public maintenance by grants from the colonial parliament. This revised copy of "the model" was not signed till March, 1670. To a colony of which the majority were likely to be dissenters, the change was vital; it

was scarcely noticed in England, where the model became the theme of extravagant applause. "It is without compare," wrote Blome, in 1672. "Empires," added an admirer of Shaftesbury, "will be ambitious of subjection to the noble government which deep wisdom has projected for Carolina;" and the proprietaries set their seals to "a sacred and unalterable" instrument, which they decreed should endure "for ever."

As far as depended upon the proprietaries, the government was immediately organized with Monk, duke of Albemarle, as palatine. But was there place for a palatine and landgraves, for barons and lords of manors, for an admiralty court and a court of heraldry, among the scattered cabins between the Chowan and the ocean?

Albemarle had, in 1665, been increased by fresh emigrants from New England, and, two years later, by a colony of shipbuilders from the Bermudas, who lived contentedly with Stevens as chief magistrate, under a very wise and simple form of government. A council of twelve—six named by the proprietaries, and six chosen by the assembly; an assembly composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates from the freeholders of the incipient settlements—formed a government which enjoyed popular confidence. No interference from abroad was anticipated; for freedom of religion and security against taxation except by the colonial legislature were conceded. The colonists were satisfied; the more so as, in 1668, their lands were confirmed to them on their own terms.

The authentic record of the legislative history of North Carolina begins with the autumn of 1669, when the representatives of Albemarle, ignorant of the scheme which Locke and Shaftesbury were maturing, gave a five years' security to the emigrant debtor against any cause of action arising out of the country; made marriage a civil contract, requiring only the consent of parties before a magistrate; exempted new settlers from taxation for a year; prohibited strangers from trading with the neighboring Indians, and granted land to every adventurer who joined the colony, but withholding a perfect title till after a residence of two years. The members of this early legislature probably received no compensation; to meet

the expenses of the governor and council, a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco was exacted in every lawsuit. The laws were sufficient, were confirmed by the proprietaries, were re-enacted in 1715, and were valid in North Carolina for more than half a century.

Hardly had these laws been established when the new constitution was forwarded to Albemarle. Its promulgation did but favor anarchy by invalidating the existing system, which it could not replace. The proprietaries, contrary to stipulations with the colonists, superseded the existing government, and the colonists resolutely rejected the substitute.

Far different was the welcome with which the inhabitants of North Carolina met the first messengers of religion. From the beginning of the settlement there seems not to have been a minister in the land; there was no public worship but such as burst from the heart when natural feeling took the form of words. But man is prone to religious impressions, and when William Edmundson in 1672 came to visit his Quaker brethren among the groves of Albemarle, "he met with a tender people," delivered his instructions as supported by the authority of self-evident truth, and added converts to the society of Friends. A quarterly meeting of discipline was established, and the society, of which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the first to organize a religious community in Carolina.

In the autumn of the same year, George Fox—the father of the sect, the upright man who could say of himself, "What I am in words, I am the same in life"—travelled across "the great bogs" of the Dismal Swamp, commonly "lying abroad a-nights in the woods by a fire," till at last he reached a house in Carolina, and obtained the luxury of a mat by the fireside. He was made welcome to the refuge of Quakers and fugitives from ecclesiastical oppression. The people "lived lonely in the woods," with no other guardian to their solitary houses than a watch-dog. There have been religious communities which, binding themselves by a vow to a life of study and reflection, have planted their monasteries in the recesses of the desert, where they might best lift up their hearts to contemplative enjoyments. Here were men from civilized

life, scattered among the forests, hermits with wives and children, resting on the bosom of nature, in harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. With absolute freedom of conscience, reason and good-will to man were the simple rule of their conduct. Such was the people to whom George Fox "opened many things concerning the light and spirit of God that is in every one." He became the guest of the governor of the province, who, with his wife, "received him lovingly." The plantations of that day were upon the bay, and along the streams that flow into it; the rivers and the inlets were the highways of Carolina; the boat and the lighter birchen skiff the only equipage; every man knew how to handle the oar; and there was hardly a woman but could paddle a canoe. When Fox continued his journey, the governor, having been admonished to listen to the voice of truth in the oracles of nature, accompanied him to the water's edge, and, as the chief magistrate of North Carolina and the envoy of humanity travelled together on foot through the ancient woods, it might indeed have seemed, rather than in the companionship of Shaftesbury and Locke, that the days of the legislation of philosophy were revived. For in the character of his wisdom, in the method of its acquisition by deep feeling, reflection, and travel, and in its fruits, George Fox far more nearly resembled the ancient sages, the peers of Thales and Solon, whom common fame has immortalized. From the house of the governor, the traveller continued his journey to the residence of "Joseph Scot, one of the representatives of the country," where he had "a sound and precious meeting" with the people. His eloquence reached their hearts; for he did but assert the paramount value of the impulses and feelings which had guided them in the wilderness. He "had a sense of all conditions;" for, "how else could he have spoken to all conditions?" At another meeting, "the chief secretary of the province," who "had been formerly convinced," was present; and Fox became his guest, yet not without "much ado;" for, as the boat approached his plantation, it grounded in the shallow channel, and could not be brought to shore. But the wife of the secretary of state shot promptly to the traveller's relief in a canoe, and brought him to her hospitable home. As he

turned again toward Virginia, he could say that he had found the people of North Carolina "generally tender and open;" and that he had made among them "a little entrance for truth."

While it was uncertain what was the government of North Carolina, the country, in 1674, was left without a governor by the death of Stevens. The assembly, conforming to a prudent instruction of the proprietaries, elected a successor; and Cartwright, their speaker, acted for two years at the head of the administration. Persons into whose hands the proprietaries had committed the government interfered with violence and injustice to prevent the progress of discovery and colonization to the southward; and those who had planted on the south side of the Chowan and the Roanoke were commanded back, to their great prejudice and inconvenience. Moreover, fears prevailed that "Sir William Berkeley was become the sole proprietary" of that part of Carolina. Moved "by these apprehensions and the conjunction of the times," the North Carolinians themselves "ordered and settled the council and government," until an appeal could be taken to the proprietaries. To them, Thomas Miller carried letters from the self-constituted government of Albemarle; and Eastchurch, the new speaker of the assembly, followed as its agent to explain the public grievances. The proprietaries, after some of them had "discoursed with" Eastchurch and Miller, wrote to the assembly: "They have fully satisfied us that the fault was not in you, but in those persons into whose hands we committed the government." They gave their promise "not to part with the county of Albemarle to any person, but to maintain the province of Carolina entire as it was, that they might preserve the inhabitants in English rights and liberties." Instead of insisting on the introduction of the grand model, they restored the simple government which had existed in the beginning of the settlement.

For governor of Albemarle, they selected Eastchurch himself, "because," they said, "he seems to us a very discreet and worthy man, and very much concerned for your prosperity and welfare, and, by the opportunity of his being here, is well instructed in our desires." For the grand council they named

their own deputies, and invited the assembly to choose as many more. While they praised the good disposition of the North Carolinians to administer "fair justice among themselves," they added: "We utterly dislike trying or condemning any person, either in criminal or civil causes, without a jury; and evidence clandestinely taken can be of no validity otherwise than to cause the criminal person to be secured, where the crime is of a high nature." They desired to connect their own interests with those of the colony, and were willing to approve any measures that the assembly might propose for extending colonization on the Pamlico and the Neuse, and opening connection by land with plantations in South Carolina.

They attempted to restrain the scattered manner of life of the colonists. "Without towns," they wrote, "you will not long continue civilized, or even be considerable or secure." Miller, who had been the bearer of their letters, was appointed secretary of the province; while the complaints which he had made were referred to the council and assembly in the place. Miller received from the crown a commission as collector of the customs.

The new officers embarked for Carolina by way of the West Indies, where Eastchurch remained for a season; while Miller, in July, 1677, proceeded to the province to hold the triple office of president or governor, secretary, and collector.

The government had for about a year been left in what royalists called "ill order and worse hands;" that is, it had been a government of the people themselves. The suppression of a fierce insurrection in Virginia had been followed by vindictive punishments; and "runaways, rogues, and rebels"—that is to say, fugitives from arbitrary tribunals, non-conformists, and friends to liberty—"fled daily to Carolina, as their common subterfuge and lurking-place." Did letters from Virginia demand the surrender of leaders in the rebellion, Carolina refused to betray the fugitives.

The presence of such emigrants made oppression more difficult than ever; but here, as throughout the colonies, the navigation acts were the cause for greater restlessness and more permanent discontent. And never did national avarice exhibit itself more meanly than in the relations of English

legislation to North Carolina. The district hardly contained four thousand inhabitants; a few fat cattle, a little maize, and eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco, formed all their exports; their humble commerce had attracted none but small craft from New England; and the mariners of Boston, guiding their vessels through the narrow entrances of the bay, brought to the doors of the planters the few foreign articles which the exchange of their produce could purchase. And yet this inconsiderable traffic, so little alluring, but so convenient to the colonists, was envied by the English merchant; the law of 1672 was to be enforced; the traders of Boston were to be crowded from the market by an unreasonable duty; and the planters to send their produce to England as they could.

How unwelcome, then, must have been the presence of Miller, who levied the hateful tribute of a penny on every pound of tobacco exported to New England! It was attempted to foster a jealousy of the northern colonies. But never did one American colony repine at the prosperity of another. The traffic with Boston continued, though burdened with a tax which produced an annual revenue of twelve thousand dollars, an enormous burden for the petty commerce and the few inhabitants of that day.

The planters of Albemarle were tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government imposed from abroad was hard to be borne. The attempt at enforcing the navigation acts hastened an insurrection, which was fostered by the refugees from Virginia and the New England men. Excessive taxation, the change in the form of government with the "denial of a free election of an assembly," and the unwise interruption of the natural channels of commerce, were the threefold grievances of the colony. Its leader in the insurrection was John Culpepper, one of those "very ill men" who loved popular liberty, and whom the royalists of that day denounced as having merited "hanging, for endeavoring to set the poor people to plunder the rich." One of the counsellors joined in the rebellion; the rest, with Miller, were imprisoned; "that thereby the country may have a free parliament, and may send home their grievances." Having deposed and imprisoned the president

and the deputies of the proprietaries, and set at naught the acts of parliament, the people recovered from anarchy, organized a government, and established courts of justice. Eastchurch arrived in Virginia; but his commission and authority were derided, and he himself was kept out by force of arms; while the insurgents, among whom was George Durant, the oldest landholder in Albemarle, having, in 1679, completed their institutions, sent Culpepper and another to England to negotiate a compromise.

The late president and his fellow-sufferers, having escaped from confinement in Carolina, appeared in England with adverse complaints. To a struggle between the planters and the proprietaries, the English public would have been indifferent; but Miller, as the champion of the navigation acts, enlisted in his favor the jealous anger of the mercantile cities. Culpepper, just as he was embarking for America, was taken into custody, and his interference with the collecting of duties, which he was charged with embezzling and which there is no reason to believe he had applied to other than public purposes, stimulated a prosecution; while his opposition to the proprietaries was held to justify an indictment for an act of high treason, committed without the realm.

A statute of Henry VIII. was the authority for arraigning a colonist before an English jury, an act of tyranny against which Culpepper vainly protested, claiming "to be tried in Carolina, where the offence was committed." "Let no favor be shown him," said Lauderdale and the lords of the plantations. But, when in June, 1680, he was brought up for trial, Shaftesbury, who at that time was in the zenith of popularity, courted every form of popular influence, and penetrated the injustice of the accusation, appeared in his defence and procured his acquittal. The insurrection in Carolina was excused by the verdict of an English jury.

It was a natural expedient to send one of the proprietaries themselves to look after the interests of the company; and Seth Sothel, who had purchased the rights of Lord Clarendon, was selected for the purpose. But Sothel, on his voyage, was taken captive by the Algerines. In the temporary government of Carolina, I find the name of Robert Holden, Culpep-

per's associate and colleague, as receiver-general, while "the traitor, George Durant," quietly discharged the duty of a judge. "Settle order amongst yourselves," wrote the proprietaries; and order had already been settled. Would the disciples of Fox subscribe to the authority of the proprietaries? "Yes," they replied, "with heart and hand, to the best of our capacities and understandings, so far as is consonant with God's glory and the advancement of his blessed truth;" and the restricted promise was accepted. In 1681, an act of amnesty, on easy conditions, was adopted.

In 1683, Sothel, on reaching the colony, found tranquillity established. His arrival changed the scene.

Sothel was of the same class of governors with Cranfield of New Hampshire. He had accepted the government in the hope of acquiring a fortune, and he cheated his associates, as well as plundered the colonists. To the latter he could not be acceptable, for it was his duty to establish the constitutions and enforce the navigation acts. To introduce the constitutions was impossible, unless he could transform a log cabin into a baronial castle, a negro slave into a herd of leet-men. And how could one man, without soldiers, and without a vessel of war, enforce the navigation acts? Sothel had no higher purpose than to grow rich by exacting illegal fees and engrossing traffic with the Indians. The people of North Carolina, already experienced in rebellion, having borne with him about five years, deposed him without bloodshed, and appealed once more to the proprietaries. It is proof that Sothel had committed no acts of wanton cruelty, that he preferred a request to submit his case to an assembly, fearing the colonists, whom he had pillaged, less than the associates whom he had betrayed. His request was granted; and the colony condemned him to a twelve months' exile and a perpetual incapacity for the government.

Here was a double grief to the proprietaries; the rapacity of Sothel was a breach of trust, the judgment of the assembly an ominous usurpation. The planters of North Carolina recovered tranquillity as soon as they escaped the misrule from abroad; and, sure of amnesty, esteemed themselves the happiest people on earth. They loved the clear air and bright

skies of their "summer land." Careless of religious sects, or colleges, or lawyers, or absolute laws, they possessed liberty of conscience and personal independence, freedom of the forest and of the river. From almost every homestead they enjoyed a prospect of spacious rivers, of primeval forests. For them unnumbered swine fattened on the fruits of the forest; for them cattle multiplied on the pleasant meadows. What though Europe was rocked to its centre by commotions? What though England was changing its constitution? Should the planter of Albemarle trouble himself for Holland or France? for James II. or William of Orange? for a Whig party or a high church party? Almost all the American colonies were chiefly planted by those to whom the uniformities of European life were intolerable; North Carolina was planted by men to whom the restraints of other colonies were too severe. They dwelt in lonely granges; there was neither city nor township; there was hardly even a hamlet, or one house within sight of another; nor were there roads, except as the paths from house to house were distinguished by notches in the trees. But the settlers were gentle in their tempers, enemies to violence. Not all their successive revolutions had kindled in them vindictive passions; freedom was enjoyed without anxiety as without guarantees; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the paradise of Quakers.

CHAPTER VIII.

SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

To promote success in planting South Carolina, the proprietaries tempted emigrants by the offer of land at an easy quit-rent, and one hundred and fifty acres were granted for every able man-servant. "In that they meant negroes as well as Christians." Of the original thirteen states, South Carolina alone was from its origin essentially a planting state with slave labor.

In January, 1670, more than a month before the revised model was signed, a considerable number of emigrants set sail for Carolina, which, both for climate and soil, was celebrated as "the beauty and envy of North America." They were conducted by Joseph West, as commercial agent for the proprietaries; and by William Sayle, who, having more than twenty years before made himself known as leader in an attempt to plant the isles of the gulf of Florida, was constituted a proprietary governor, with jurisdiction extending as far north as Cape Carteret, as far south as the Spaniards would tolerate. Having touched at Ireland and Barbados, the ships which bore the company entered the well-known waters where the fleet of Ribault had anchored, and examined the site where the Huguenots had engraved the lilies of France and erected the fortress of Carolina. After short delay, they sailed into Ashley river, and on "the first high land convenient for tillage and pasturing," the three ship-loads of emigrants, who as yet formed the whole people of South Carolina, began their town. Few as were the settlers, no immediate danger was apprehended from the natives; epidemic sickness and sanguinary wars had left the neighboring coasts

almost a desert. Of this town, every log-house has vanished, and its site is absorbed in a plantation.

The emigrants had hardly landed before they instituted a government on the basis of liberty. A copy of the original fundamental constitutions, which had no article establishing the church of England, had been furnished them, duly signed and sealed; but it was indeed impossible "to execute the grand model." A parliamentary convention was held; five members of the grand council were elected to act with five whom the proprietaries had appointed; the whole body possessed a veto on the executive, and, with the governor and twenty delegates, who were now elected by the people, constituted the legislature of the province. Representative government struck root from the beginning. John Locke, as well as Sir John Yeamans and James Carteret, was created a landgrave. In 1671, the revised copy of the model was sent over, with a set of rules and instructions, but were firmly resisted, and the commonwealth, from its organization, was distracted by a political feud between the proprietaries and the people; between the friends of the church, always a minority, and a union of all classes of dissenters.

From Barbados arrived Sir John Yeamans, in 1671, with African slaves. In the same year there came from New York two ships with Dutch emigrants, who were followed by others of their countrymen from Holland.

The planting of South Carolina did not encounter unusual hardships. Yet the red men, though few, were unfriendly; and it was with arms at hand that the emigrants gathered oysters, or swept the rivers, or toiled at building.

The first site for a town had been chosen without regard to commerce. The point between the two rivers, to which, in honor of Shaftesbury, the names of Ashley and Cooper were given, soon attracted attention; in 1672, those who had purchased grants there, desirous of obtaining neighbors, willingly offered to surrender one half of their land as "commons of pasture;" and the town on the neck of land then called Oyster Point, in 1680, to become a village named from the reigning king, and, after more than a century, incorporated as the city of Charleston, began with the cabins of graziers.

In April, 1672, all previous parliaments and parliamentary conventions were dissolved; the rapidly increasing colony demanded "a new parliament," and instituted a government for itself; it did not deem it possible to conform more closely to the constitutions.

Labors of agriculture in the sultry clime were appalling to Englishmen. Neither did the culture of the cereal grasses at once promise success. It was observed that the climate of South Carolina is more congenial to the African "than that of the more northern colonies;" it became the great object of the emigrant "to buy negro slaves, without which," adds Wilson, "a planter can never do any great matter;" and the negro race was multiplied so rapidly by importations that, in a few years, we are told, the blacks in the low country were to the whites in the proportion of twenty-two to twelve—a proportion that had no parallel north of the West Indies.

Imagination already regarded Carolina as the chosen spot for the culture of the olive; and, in the region where flowers bloom every month in the year, orange-trees were to supplant the cedar; mulberries to feed silk-worms; and choicest wines to be ripened. For this end, Charles II., with an almost solitary instance of munificence toward America, sent at his own expense to Carolina a few foreign Protestants, to domesticate the productions of the south of Europe.

From England emigrations were considerable. Even Shaftesbury, when, in July, 1681, he was committed to the Tower, desired leave to withdraw to Carolina. The character of the proprietaries was a sufficient invitation to members of the church of England. The promise of equal immunities attracted many dissenters. A contemporary historian commemorates with singular praise the company from Somersetshire, who, in 1683, were conducted to Charleston by Joseph Blake, brother to the gallant admiral. Blake was already advanced in life; but impatient of present oppression, and fearing still greater evils from a popish successor, he devoted to the advancement of emigration all the fortune which he had inherited as the fruits of his brother's victories. A colony of Scotch-Irish of the same year received a hearty welcome.

The tyranny of government in Scotland compelled its inhabitants to seek peace by abandoning their native country. In 1684, the Presbyterian, Lord Cardross, many of whose friends had suffered imprisonment, the rack, and even death, and who had been persecuted under Lauderdale, sailed for Carolina with ten families of outcasts. They planted themselves at Port Royal; the colony of Ashley river exercised over them a jurisdiction to which they reluctantly submitted; Cardross returned to Europe, where he rendered service in the approaching revolution; and, in 1686, the Spaniards, taking umbrage at a plantation established on ground which they claimed as a dependency of St. Augustine, invaded the frontier settlement, and laid it entirely waste. Of the unhappy emigrants, some found their way back to Scotland; some mingled with the earlier planters of Carolina.

The most remarkable incident in the early history of South Carolina was the arrival of many Huguenots, who, in moral worth and intelligence, were of "the Best" of the French. Resolved to enforce religious uniformity in his dominions, Louis XIV. attempted to dragoon the French Calvinists into returning to the Catholic church, by quartering soldiers in every Protestant family to torment them into apostasy. In 1685, the edict of Nantes, which had confirmed to Protestants in France an imperfect toleration, was revoked, and all public worship was forbidden them. Desiring not to drive away, but to convert his subjects, the king forbade emigration under penalty of the gallows; the hounds were let loose on game shut up in a close park. Every wise government was eager to offer a home to those who broke away and who brought with them the highest industrial skill of France. They introduced into the north of Germany manufactures before unknown. A suburb of London was filled with them. The prince of Orange gained regiments of soldiers. A colony of the refugees reached the Cape of Good Hope. In America they were welcome everywhere. The towns of Massachusetts contributed liberally to their support, and provided them with land. Others repaired to New York; but the climate of South Carolina attracted the exiles from Languedoc.

"We quitted home by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture," wrote Judith, the young wife of Pierre Manigault. "We contrived to hide ourselves for ten days at Romans, in Dauphiny, while a search was made for us; but our faithful hostess would not betray us." Nor could they escape except by a circuitous journey through Germany and Holland, and thence to England, in the depths of winter. "Having embarked at London, we were sadly off. The spotted fever appeared on board the vessel, and many died of the disease; among these, our aged mother. We touched at Bermuda, where the vessel was seized. Our money was all spent; with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina we suffered every kind of evil. In eighteen months our eldest brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor which we were obliged to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France we had experienced every kind of affliction, disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labor. I have been for six months without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have passed three or four years without having it when I wanted it. God has done great things for us, in enabling us to bear up under so many trials."

Flying from a kingdom where the profession of their religion was a felony, where their estates were liable to be confiscated in favor of the apostate, where the preaching of their faith was a crime to be expiated on the wheel, where their children might be torn from them and transferred to the nearest Catholic relation, the fugitives from Languedoc, from Rochelle, and Saintange, and Bordeaux, from St. Quentin, Poictiers, and the beautiful valley of Tours, from St. Lo and Dieppe, men who had the virtues of the English Puritans without their bigotry, came to the land to which Shaftesbury had invited the believer of every creed. There they obtained an assignment of lands, and soon had tenements. On every Lord's day they might be seen gathering from their plantations upon the banks of the Cooper, the parents with their children whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in skiffs to their church at the confluence of the rivers.

The country abounds in monuments of the French Protes-

tants. When the struggle for independence arrived, the son of Judith Manigault intrusted the vast fortune he had acquired to the country that had adopted his mother. The hall of the town of Boston, famed as "the cradle of liberty;" the treaty that gave to the United States peace with independence, and the Mississippi for a boundary; the name of the oldest college of Maine—bear witness to the public virtues of American descendants of the Huguenots.

To the emigrants from France, South Carolina conceded the privileges of citizenship so soon as it could be done by the act of the Carolinians themselves.

For the proprietary power was essentially weak. The company of courtiers, which became no more than a partnership of speculators in colonial lands, had not sufficient force to resist foreign violence or assert domestic authority. It could derive no strength but from the colonists or from the crown. But the colonists connected self-protection with the right of self-government; and the crown would not incur expense, except on a surrender of the jurisdiction. The proprietary government, having its organ in the council, could prolong its existence only by concessions, and was destined from its inherent weakness to be overthrown by the commons.

In 1670, the proprietaries acquiesced in a government which had little reference to the constitutions. The first governor sunk under the climate and the hardships of founding a colony. His successor, Sir John Yeamans, was a sordid calculator, bent only on acquiring a fortune. He encouraged expense, and enriched himself, without gaining respect or hatred. "It must be a bad soil," said his weary employers, "that will not maintain industrious men, or we must be very silly that would maintain the idle." If they continued their outlays, it was to foster vineyards and olive-groves; they refused supplies of cattle, and desired returns in compensation for their expenditures.

From 1674, the moderation and good sense of West preserved tranquillity for about nine years; but the lords, who had first purchased his services by the grant of all their merchandise and debts in Carolina, in the end dismissed him from office, on the charge that he favored the popular party.

The continued struggle with the proprietaries hastened the emancipation of the people from their rule; but the praise of having never been in the wrong cannot be awarded to the colonists. The latter claimed the right of weakening the neighboring Indian tribes by a partisan warfare, and a sale of the captives into West Indian bondage; their antagonists demanded that the treaty of peace with the red men should be preserved. Again, the proprietaries offered some favorable modifications of the constitutions; the colonists respected the modifications no more than the original laws. A rapid change of governors augmented the confusion. There was no harmony of interests between the lords paramount and their tenants, or of authority between the executive and the popular assembly. As in other colonies south of the Potomac, colonial legislation did not favor the collection of debts that had been contracted elsewhere; the proprietaries demanded a rigid conformity to the cruel method of the English courts. It had been usual to hold the polls for elections at Charleston only; as population extended, the proprietaries ordered an apportionment of the representation; but Carolina would not allow districts to be carved out and representation to be apportioned from abroad; and the useful reformation could not be adopted till it was demanded and effected by the people themselves.

England had always favored its merchants in the invasion of the Spanish commercial monopoly; had sometimes protected pirates, and Charles II. had knighted a freebooter. In Carolina, especially after Port Royal had been laid waste by the Spaniards, there were not wanting those who regarded the buccaneers as their natural allies against a common enemy, and thus opened one more dispute with the proprietaries.

When the commerce of South Carolina had so increased that a collector of plantation duties was appointed, a new struggle arose. The court of the proprietaries, careful not to offend the king, gave orders that the acts of navigation, although they were an infringement of the charter, should be enforced. The colonists, who had made themselves independent of the proprietaries in fact, esteemed themselves independent of parliament of right. Here, as everywhere, the acts were resisted as at war with natural equity.

The pregnant cause of dissensions in Carolina could not be removed till the question of powers should be definitively settled. The proprietaries were willing to believe that the cause existed in the want of dignity and character in the governor. That affairs might be more firmly established, James Colleton, a brother of a proprietary, was appointed governor, with the rank of landgrave and an endowment of forty-eight thousand acres of land; but when, in 1686, he met the colonial parliament which had been elected before his arrival, a majority refused to acknowledge the binding force of the constitutions. By a violent act of power, Colleton, like Cromwell in a similar instance, excluded the refractory members from the parliament. These, in their turn, protested against any measures which might be adopted by the remaining minority.

A new parliament, in 1687, was still more intractable; and the "standing laws" which they adopted were negatived by the court of the proprietaries. The strife between the parties extended to all their relations. When Colleton endeavored to collect quit-rents not only on cultivated fields, but on wild lands, the assembly, imprisoning the secretary of the province and seizing the records, defied the governor and his patrons.

Colleton resolved on one last desperate effort, and, in 1689, pretending danger from Indians or Spaniards, called out the militia and declared martial law. The assembly had no doubt of its duty to protect the country against a military despotism. The English revolution of 1688 was therefore imitated on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper. In 1690, soon after William and Mary had been proclaimed, a meeting of the representatives of South Carolina disfranchised Colleton, and banished him from the province.

CHAPTER IX.

MARYLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

The progress of Maryland under the proprietary government was tranquil and rapid. Its staple was tobacco. It was vainly attempted to create towns by statute; each plantation was a world within itself. Its laborers were in part white indented servants, whose term of service was limited by persevering legislation; in part negro slaves, whose importation was favored both by English cupidity and by provincial statutes. The appointing power to nearly every office in the counties as well as in the province was not with the people, and the judiciary was beyond their control; the taxes imposed by the county officers were burdensome alike from their amount and the manner of their levy.

At the restoration, the authority of Philip Calvert, the proprietary's deputy, was promptly and quietly recognised. Fendall, the former governor, who had obeyed the popular will as paramount to the authority of Baltimore, was convicted of treason. His punishment was mild; a wise clemency veiled the incipient strife between the people and their sovereign under a general amnesty; but Maryland was not placed beyond the influence of the ideas which that age of revolution had set in motion.

The administration of Maryland was marked by conciliation and humanity. To foster industry, to promote union, to cherish religious peace—these were the honest purposes of Lord Baltimore during his long supremacy. The persecuted and the unhappy thronged to his domains. The white laborer rose rapidly to the condition of a free proprietor; the female emigrant was sure to improve her condition. From France

came Huguenots; from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Finland, it may be, though most rarely, from Piedmont, and even Bohemia, the children of misfortune sought protection under the tolerant sceptre of the Roman Catholic, and were made citizens with equal franchises. The people called Quakers met for religious worship publicly and without interruption; and with secret satisfaction George Fox relates that members of the legislature and the council, persons of quality, and justices of the peace, were present at a large and very heavenly meeting. Once the Indian "emperor," attended by his "kings," listened to his evening discourse. At a later day, the heir of the province came to an assembly of Quakers. But the refusal to perform military duty subjected them to fines and imprisonment; the refusal to take an oath sometimes involved a forfeiture of property; nor was it before 1688 that indulgence was fully conceded.

In 1662, Charles, the eldest son of the proprietary, came to reside in his patrimony. He visited the banks of the Delaware, and struggled to extend the limits of his jurisdiction. A duty was levied on the tonnage of every vessel that arrived. The Indian nations were pacified, and their rights, subordination, and commerce defined. By acts of compromise between Lord Baltimore and the representatives of the people, his power to raise taxes was precisely limited, and the mode of paying quit-rents established on terms favorable to the colony; while, on the other hand, a custom of two shillings a hogshead was levied on all exported tobacco, of which a moiety was appropriated to the defence of the government; the residue became conditionally the revenue of the proprietary.

The declining life of Cecilius Lord Baltimore, the father of Maryland, the tolerant legislator, was blessed with prosperity. The colony which he had planted in youth crowned his old age with its gratitude. A firm supporter of prerogative, a friend to the Stuarts, a member of the Roman church, he established an incipient equality among sects. His benevolent designs were the fruit of his personal character, his proprietary interests, and the necessity of his position. He died,

in November, 1675, after a supremacy of more than forty-three years.

The death of Cecilius recalled to England the heir of the province, who had administered its government for fourteen years with a moderation which had been rewarded by the increasing prosperity of his dominions. Previous to his departure, the code of laws received a thorough revision; the memorable act of toleration was confirmed. Virginia had, in 1670, prohibited the importation of felons until the king or privy council should reverse the order. In Maryland, six years later, "the importation of convicted persons" was absolutely prohibited without regard to the will of the king or the English parliament, and, in 1692, the prohibition was renewed. The established revenues of the proprietary were continued.

As Lord Baltimore sailed for England, the seeds of discontent were already germinating. The office of proprietary, a feudal principality with extensive manors in every county, was an anomaly; the doctrine of the paramount authority of an hereditary sovereign was at war with the spirit which emigration fostered, and the principles of civil equality naturally grew up in all the British settlements. An insurrection in Virginia found friends north of the Potomac, and the tendency toward more popular forms of administration could not be repressed. The assembly which was convened during the absence of the proprietary shared in this spirit; and the right of suffrage was established on a corresponding basis. On the return of the proprietary to the province, he annulled, by proclamation, the rule which changed the elective franchise, and, by an arbitrary ordinance, limited the right of suffrage to freemen possessing a freehold of fifty acres, or having a visible personal estate of forty pounds. No difference was made with respect to color. The restrictions, which for one hundred and twenty-one years successfully resisted the principle of universal suffrage among freemen of the Caucasian race, were introduced in the midst of civil commotion. Fendall, the old republican, was again planning schemes of insurrection, and even of independence; and it was said, "The maxims of the old Lord Baltimore will not do in the present age."

The insurrection was for the time repressed; but its symp-

toms were the more alarming from the religious fanaticism with which the principle of popular power was combined. The discontents were increased by hostility toward papists; and, as Protestantism became a political sect, the proprietary government was in the issue easily subverted; for it had rested mainly on a grateful deference.

On the death of the first feudal sovereign of Maryland, the archbishop of Canterbury had been solicited to secure an establishment of the Anglican church, which clamored for favor in the province where it enjoyed equality. Misrepresentations were not spared. "Maryland," said a clergyman of the church, "is a pest-house of iniquity." The cure for all evil was to be "an established support of a Protestant ministry." The prelates demanded not freedom, but privilege; an establishment to be maintained at the common expense of the province. Inflexible in his regard for freedom of worship, Lord Baltimore resisted.

The opposition to a feudal sovereign easily united with Protestant bigotry. When, in 1681, an insurrection was suppressed by methods of clemency and forbearance, the government was accused of partiality toward papists; and the English ministry issued an order that offices of government in Maryland should be intrusted exclusively to Protestants. Roman Catholics were disfranchised in the province which they had planted.

With the colonists Lord Baltimore was at issue for his hereditary authority; with the English church for his religious faith; the unhappy effects of the navigation acts on colonial industry involved him in opposition to the commercial policy of England. His rights of jurisdiction had been disregarded. The custom-house of Maryland had been placed under the superintendence of the governor of Virginia; the resistance of the officers of Lord Baltimore to the invasion of his rights had led to quarrels and bloodshed, and a controversy with Virginia. The accession of James II. seemed an auspicious event for a Roman Catholic proprietary; but the first result from parliament was a new tax on the consumption of colonial produce in England; and the king, who meditated the subversion of British freedom, resolved with

impartial injustice to reduce all the colonies to a direct dependence on the crown. The proprietary, hastening to England, vainly pleaded his irreproachable administration. His remonstrance was disregarded, his chartered rights despised; and a writ of quo warranto was ordered against his patent. But, before the legal forms could be complied with, the people of England had sat in judgment on their king.

The revolution of 1688 brought no immediate benefit to Lord Baltimore. William Joseph, the president, to whom he had intrusted the administration, convened an assembly in November, 1688, and thus addressed them: "The power by which we are assembled here is undoubtedly derived from God to the king, and from the king to his excellency, the lord proprietary, and from his said lordship to us. The power, therefore, whereof I speak, being, as said, firstly, in God and from God; secondly, in the king and from the king; thirdly, in his lordship; fourthly, in us—the end and duty of and for which this assembly is now called and met is that from these four heads; to wit, from God, the king, our lord, and selves." Having thus established the divine right of the proprietary, he endeavored to confirm it by exacting a special oath of fidelity. The assembly resisted, and was prorogued. The laws threatened the severest punishment, even imprisonment, exile, and death itself on practices against the proprietary government; but the spirit of popular liberty, inflamed by Protestant bigotry, the clamor of a pretended Popish plot, and a delay in proclaiming the new sovereigns, broke through all restraint; an organized insurrection was conducted by John Coode, a worthless man, of old an associate of Fendall; and, in August, 1689, "The Association in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion" usurped the government.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE STUARTS REWARDED THE LOYALTY OF VIRGINIA.

From 1652 to 1660, "the people of Virginia" had governed themselves. In England, triennial parliaments had been established by law; the Virginians, imitating the "act of 1640 for preventing inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliament," provided for a biennial election of their legislators. In its forms and in its legislation, Virginia was a representative democracy; it insisted on universality of suffrage; it would not tolerate "mercenary" ministers of the law; it left each parish to take care of itself; every officer was, directly or indirectly, chosen by the people.

This result grew naturally out of the character of the early settlers, who were, most of them, adventurers, bringing to the New World no wealth but enterprise, no privileges but those of Englishmen. A new and undefined increase of freedom was gained by the universal prevalence of the spirit of personal independence. An instinctive aversion to too much government was a trait of southern character, expressed in the solitary manner of settling the country, in the indisposition of the inhabitants to collect in towns, or to associate for the creation of organizations for local self-rule. As a consequence, there was little commercial industry or accumulation of commercial wealth. The exchanges were made almost entirely—and it continued so for more than a century—by factors of British merchants. The influence of wealth, under the form of stocks and dealings in money, was always inconsiderable, and men were so widely dispersed that far the smallest number were within easy reach of the direct influence of the established church or of civil authority. In Virginia, except in

matters that related to foreign commerce, a man's own will went far toward being his law.

Yet the seeds of privilege existed, and there was already a disposition to obtain for it the sanction of colonial legislation. Virginia was a continuation of English society. Its history is the development of the principle of English liberty under other conditions than in England. The first colonists were not fugitives from persecution; they came, rather, under the auspices of the nobility, the church, and the mercantile interests of England; they brought with them an attachment to monarchy, a reverence for the Anglican church, a love for England and English institutions. Their faith had never been shaken by the inroads of skepticism; no new ideas of natural rights had as yet inclined them to "faction." The Anglican church was, without repugnance, sanctioned as the religion of the State. The development of the plebeian sects, to which there was already a tendency, had not come, and unity of worship, with few exceptions, continued to the end of the century. The principle of the English law which granted real estate to the eldest born was respected, though the rule was modified in many counties by the custom of gavelkind. From the beginning, for every person, whom a planter should at his own charge transport into Virginia, he could claim fifty acres of land. Thus a body of large proprietors grew up from the infancy of the settlement.

The power of the favored class was increased by the want of the means of popular education. The great mass of the rising generation could receive little literary culture; its higher degrees were confined to the few. Many of the royalists who came over after the death of Charles I. brought the breeding of the English gentry of that day, and the direction of affairs fell into their hands. But others had reached the shores of Virginia as servants, doomed to a temporary bondage. Some of them, even, were convicts; but the charges of which they were convicted were chiefly political. The number transported to Virginia for crime was never considerable.

Servants were emancipated when the years of their indenture were ended, and the laws were designed to secure and to hasten their enfranchisement. In 1663, a few bond-

men, soldiers of Cromwell and probably Roundheads, impatient of servitude and excited by the nature of life in the wilderness, indulged once more in vague aspirations for a purer church and a happier condition; but their conspiracy did not extend beyond a scheme to anticipate the period of their freedom, and was easily suppressed. The facility of escape compelled humane treatment of white servants, who formed one fifth of the adult population.

In 1671, the number of blacks in a population of forty thousand was estimated at two thousand; not above two or three ships of negroes arrived in seven years. The statute of the previous year, which declares who are slaves, followed an idea long prevalent through Christendom: "All servants, not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves." In 1682, it was added: "Conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free." The early Anglo-Saxon rule, interpreting every doubtful question in favor of liberty, declared the children of freemen to be free. Doubts arose if the offspring of an Englishman by a negro woman should be bond or free, and, by the law of 1662, the rule of the Roman law prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon. The offspring followed the condition of its mother. In 1664, Maryland, by "the major vote" of its lower house, decided that "the issue of such marriages should serve thirty years." The female slave was not subject to taxation; in 1668, the emancipated negress was "a tithable." "The death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted felony, since it cannot be presumed," such is the language of the statute of 1669, "that prepensed malice, which alone makes murther felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." Finally, in 1672, it was made lawful for "persons pursuing fugitive colored slaves to wound, or even to kill them." The master was absolute lord over the slave, and the slave's posterity were his bondmen. As property in Virginia consisted mainly of land and laborers, the increase of negro slaves was grateful to the large landed proprietors.

The aristocracy, which was thus confirmed in its influence by the extent of its domains, by its superior intelligence, and by the character of a large part of the laboring class, aspired

to the government of the country; from among them the council was selected; many of them were returned as members of the legislature; and they held commissions in the militia. The absence of local municipal governments led to an anomalous extension of the power of the magistrates. The justices of the peace for each county fixed the amount of county taxes, assessed and collected them, and superintended their disbursement; so that military, judicial, legislative, and executive powers were in their hands.

At the restoration, two elements were contending for the mastery in the political life of Virginia: on the one hand, there was in the Old Dominion a people; on the other, a forming aristocracy. The present decision of the contest would depend on the side to which the sovereign of the country would incline. During the few years of the interruption of monarchy in England, that sovereign had been the people of Virginia; and their legislation had begun to loosen the cords of religious bigotry, to confirm equality of franchises, to foster colonial industry by freedom of traffic with the world. The restoration of monarchy took from them the power which was not to be recovered for more than a century, and gave to the superior class an ally in the royal government and its officers.

The emigrant royalists had hitherto not acted as a political party. If one assembly had, what Massachusetts never did, submitted to Richard Cromwell; if another had elected Berkeley as governor, the power of the people still controlled legislative action. But, on the tidings of the restoration of Charles II., Virginia shared the joy of England. In the mother country, the spirit of popular liberty, contending with ancient institutions which it could not overthrow, had been productive of much calamity, and had overwhelmed the tenets of popular enfranchisement in disgust and abhorrence: in Virginia, where no such ancient abuses existed, the same spirit had been productive only of benefits. Yet to the colony England seemed a home; and loyalty to the king pervaded the plantations along the Chesapeake. With the people it was a generous enthusiasm; to many of the leading men it opened a career for ambition; and, with general consent, Sir William Berkeley, assuming such powers as his royal commission bestowed,

issued writs for an assembly in the name of the king. The sovereignty over itself, which Virginia had exercised so well, was at an end.

The assembly, chosen in 1661, was composed of large landholders and cavaliers, in whom attachment to colonial life had not mastered the force of English usages. Of the assembly of 1654, not more than two members were elected; of the assembly of March, 1660, of which an adjourned meeting was held in October, the last assembly elected during the interruption, only eight were re-elected to the first legislature of Charles II., and, of these eight, not more that five retained their places. New men came in, bringing with them new principles. The restoration was, for Virginia, a political revolution.

The "first session" of the royalist assembly was held in March, 1661. One of its earliest acts disfranchised a magistrate "for factious and schismatical demeanors."

The assembly, alarmed at the open violation of the natural and prescriptive "freedoms" of the colony by the navigation act, appointed Sir William Berkeley its agent, to present its grievances and procure their redress through the favor of its sovereign. The New England states, from the perpetual dread of royal interference, persevered in soliciting charters, till they were obtained; Virginia, unhappy in her confidence, lost irrevocably the opportunity of obtaining a liberal patent.

The Ancient Dominion was equally unfortunate in the selection of its agent. Sir William Berkeley did not, even after years of experience, understand the act against which he was deputed to expostulate. We have seen that he had obtained for himself and partners a dismemberment of the territory of Virginia; for the colony he did not secure one franchise; the king employed its loyalty to its injury. At the hands of Charles II., the democratic colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut received greater favor.

For more than a year the navigation act was virtually evaded; mariners of New England, lading their vessels with tobacco, did but touch at a New England harbor on the sound, and immediately sail for New Amsterdam. But this relief was partial and transient. The act of navigation could easily be executed in Virginia, because it had few ships of its own,

and no foreign vessel dared to enter its ports. The unequal legislation pressed upon its interests with intense severity. The number of the purchasers of its tobacco was diminished; and the English factors, sure of their market, grew careless about the quality of their supplies. To the colonist as consumer, the price of foreign goods was enhanced; to the colonist as producer, the opportunity of a market was narrowed.

Virginia long but vainly attempted to devise a remedy against the commercial oppression of England. It was the selfishness of the strong exercising tyranny over the weak; no remedy could be found so long as the state of dependence continued. The burden was the more intolerable, because it was established exclusively to favor the monopoly of the English merchant; and its avails were all abandoned to the officers to stimulate their vigilance.

Thus, while the rising aristocracy of Virginia was seeking the aid of royal influence to confirm its supremacy, the policy of the English government oppressed colonial industry so severely as to unite the province in opposition. The party which joined with the king in its desire to gain a triumph over democratic influences was always on the point of reconciling itself with the people, and making a common cause against the tyranny of the metropolis.

At the restoration, the extreme royalist party acquired the ascendency; and the assembly effected a radical change in the features of the constitution. The committee which was appointed in 1662 to reduce the laws of Virginia to a code repealed the milder laws that she had adopted when she governed herself. The English Episcopal church became once more the religion of the state; and though there were not ministers in above a fifth part of the parishes, so that "it was scattered in the desolate places of the wilderness without comeliness," yet the laws demanded strict conformity, and required of every one to contribute to its support. For assessing parish taxes, twelve vestrymen were to be chosen in each parish, with power to fill all vacancies in their own body. The control in church affairs passed from the parish to a close corporation, which the parish could henceforward neither alter nor overrule. The whole liturgy was required to be thoroughly read; no non-con-

formist might teach, even in private, under pain of banishment; no reader might expound the catechism or the scriptures. The obsolete severity of the laws of Queen Elizabeth was revived against the Quakers; their absence from church was made punishable by a monthly fine of twenty pounds sterling. To meet in conventicles of their own was forbidden under further penalties. In April, 1662, they were arraigned before the court as recusants. "Tender consciences," said Owen, "must obey the law of God, however they suffer." "There is no toleration for wicked consciences," was the reply of the court. The reformation had diminished the power of the clergy by declaring marriage a civil contract, not a sacrament; Virginia suffered no marriage to be celebrated but according to the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer.

Among the plebeian sects of Christianity, the single-minded simplicity with which the Baptists had, from their origin, asserted the enfranchisement of mind and the equal rights of the humblest classes of society, naturally won converts in America. In December, 1662, the legislature of Virginia, assembling soon after the return of Berkeley from a voyage that had been fruitless to the colony, declared to the world that there were scattered among the rude settlements of the Ancient Dominion "many schismatical persons, so averse to the established religion, and so filled with the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions, as to refuse to have their children baptized;" and the novelty was punished by a heavy mulct. The freedom of the forests favored originality of thought; in spite of legislation, men listened to the voice within themselves as to the highest authority; and Quakers continued to multiply. In September, 1663, Virginia, as if resolved to hasten the colonization of North Carolina, sharpened her laws against all separatists, punished their meetings by heavy fines, and ordered the more affluent to pay the forfeitures of the poor. The colony that should have opened its doors wide to all the persecuted, punished the ship-master that received non-conformists as passengers, and threatened resident dissenters with banishment. John Porter, the burgess for Lower Norfolk, was expelled from the assembly, "because he was well affected to the Quakers."

The legislature was equally friendly to the power of the crown. In every colony where Puritanism prevailed, there was a uniform disposition to refuse a fixed salary to the royal governor. Virginia, in 1658, when the chief magistrate was elected by its own citizens, had voted a fixed salary for that magistrate; but the measure, even then, was so little agreeable to the people that its next assembly repealed the law. In 1662, the royalist legislature, by a permanent imposition on all exported tobacco, established a perpetual revenue for the purpose of well paying the royal officers, who were thus made independent of colonial legislation. From that epoch, the country was governed according to royal instructions, which did indeed recognise the existence of colonial assemblies, but offered no guarantee for their continuance. The permanent salary of the governor of Virginia, increased by a special grant from the colonial legislature, exceeded the whole annual expenditure of Connecticut; but Berkeley was dissatisfied. A thousand pounds a year would not, he used to say, "maintain the port of his place; no government of ten years' standing but has thrice as much allowed him. But I am supported by my hopes that his gracious majesty will one day consider me."

All branches of the judicial power were appointed, directly or indirectly, by the crown. In each county eight unpaid justices of the peace were commissioned by the governor during his pleasure. These justices held monthly courts in their respective counties. The governor himself and his executive council constituted the highest court, and had cognizance of all classes of causes. Was an appeal made to chancery, it was but for another hearing before the same men; and only a few years longer were appeals permitted from the governor and council to the assembly. The place of sheriff in each county was conferred in rotation on one of the justices for that county.

The county courts, thus independent of the people, possessed and exercised the arbitrary power of levying county taxes, which, in their amount, usually exceeded the public levy. This system proceeded so far that the commissioners of themselves levied taxes to meet their own expenses. In like manner, the self-perpetuating vestries made out their lists of tithables, and assessed taxes without regard to the consent of

the parish. These private levies were unequal and oppressive; were seldom, it is said never, brought to audit, and were, in some cases at least, managed by men who combined to defraud the public.

A series of innovations gradually effected the overthrow of the ancient system of representation. By the members of the first assembly, elected after the restoration for a period of two years only, the law, which limited the duration of their legislative service, and secured the benefits of frequent elections and swift responsibility, was, in 1662, "utterly abrogated and repealed." The parliament of England, chosen on the restoration, was not dissolved for eighteen years; the legislature of Virginia showed its determination to retain power for an indefinite period. Meantime, "the people, at the usual places of election," could not elect burgesses, but only present their grievances to the adjourned assembly.

The pay of the burgesses had been defrayed by their respective counties; and was thus controlled by their constituents. The self-continued legislature, in a law which fixed both the number and the charge of the burgesses, established the daily pay of its own members who had usurped an indefinite period of office, not less than that of its successors, at an amount of tobacco of the value of nine dollars in coin. The burden was intolerable in a new country, where at that time one dollar was equal at least to four in the present day. Discontent was increased by the exemption of councillors from the levies.

The freedom of elections was further impaired by "frequent false returns" made by the sheriffs. Against these the people had no redress, for the sheriffs were responsible neither to them nor to officers of their appointment.

No direct taxes were levied in those days except on polls. Berkeley, in 1663, had urged "a levy upon lands, and not upon heads." If lands should be taxed, none but landholders should elect the legislature, answered the assembly; and added: "The other freemen, who are the more in number, may repine to be bound to those laws they have no representations to assent to the making of. And we are so well acquainted with the temper of the people that we have rea-

son to believe they had rather pay their tax than lose that privilege."

But the system of universal suffrage could not permanently find favor with a usurping assembly which labored to reproduce in the new world the inequalities of English legislation. It was discovered that "the usual way of chusing burgesses by the votes of all freemen" produced "tumults and disturbance," and would lead to the "choyce of persons not fitly qualified for so greate a trust." The restrictions adopted in England were cited as a fit precedent for English colonies; and, in 1670, it was enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall hereafter have a voice in the election of any burgesses." The majority of the people of Virginia were disfranchised by the act of self-constituted representatives.

The unright holders of legislative power in the Old Dominion took care to do nothing for the culture of its people. "The almost general want of schools for their children was of most sad consideration, most of all bewailed of the parents there." "Every man," said Sir William Berkeley, in 1661, "instructs his children according to his ability;" a method which left the children of the ignorant to hopeless ignorance. "The ministers," continued Sir William, "should pray oftener and preach less. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

An assembly by its own vote continuing for an indefinite period at the pleasure of the governor, and decreeing to its members extravagant and burdensome emoluments; a royal governor, whose salary was established by a permanent system of taxation; a constituency restricted and diminished; religious liberty taken away almost as soon as it had been won; arbitrary taxation, in the parishes by close vestries, in the counties by uncontrolled magistrates; a hostility to popular education and to the press—these were the changes which, in a period of ten years, had been wrought by a usurping government.

Meantime, the beauty and richness of the province were

becoming better known. Toward the end of May, 1670, the governor of Virginia sent out an exploring party to discover the country beyond the mountains, which, it was believed, would open a way to the South sea. The Blue Ridge they found high and rocky, and thickly grown with wood. Early in June they were stopped by a river, which they guessed to be four hundred and fifty yards wide. It was very rapid and full of rocks, running, so far as they could see, due north between the hills, "with banks in most places," according to their computation, "one thousand yards high." Beyond the river they reported other hills, naked of wood, broken by white cliffs, which in the morning were covered with a thick fog. The report of the explorers did not destroy the confidence that those mountains contained silver or gold, nor that there were rivers "falling the other way into the ocean." In the autumn of the next year the exploration of the valley of Kanawha was continued.

The restoration of Charles II. was to Virginia a political revolution, reversing, in the interests of monarchy, the principles of popular and religious liberty, and the course of humane legislation on which she had entered during the period of the republic. It seemed to have gained a title to the favor of the king, and yet they found themselves more shamelessly neglected than any one of the more stubborn and less loyal colonies. Their rights and their property were unscrupulously trifled away by the wantonly careless and disreputable exercise of the royal prerogative. In 1649, just after the execution of Charles I., during the despair of the royalists, a patent for the Northern Neck, that is, for the country between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, had been granted to a company of cavaliers as a refuge. About nine years after the restoration, this patent was surrendered, that a new one might be issued to Lord Culpepper, who had succeeded in acquiring the shares of all the associates. The grant was extremely oppressive, for it included plantations which had long been cultivated. But the prodigality of the king was not exhausted. To Lord Culpepper, one of the most cunning and most covetous men in England, at the time a member of the commission for trade and plantations, and to Henry, earl of Arlington, the

best-bred person at the royal court, father-in-law to the king's son by Lady Castlemaine, ever in debt exceedingly, and passionately fond of things rich, polite, and princely, he gave, in 1673, "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia," for the term of thirty-one years.

The usurping assembly, composed in a great part of opulent landholders, was roused by these thoughtless grants; and, in September, 1674, Francis Moryson, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith, were appointed agents to sail for England, and enter on the difficult duty of recovering for the king the supremacy which he had so foolishly dallied away. "We are unwilling," said the assembly, "and conceive we ought not to submit to those to whom his majesty, upon misinformation, hath granted the dominion over us, who do most contentedly pay to his majesty more than we have ourselves for our labor. Whilst we labor for the advantage of the crown, and do wish we could be yet more advantageous to the king and nation, we humbly request not to be subjected to our fellow-subjects, but, for the future, to be secured from our fears of being enslaved." Berkeley's commission as governor had expired; the legislature, which had already voted him a special increase of salary, and which had continued itself in power by his connivance, solicited his appointment as governor for life.

The envoys of Virginia were instructed to ask for the colony the immunities of a corporation which could resist further encroachments, and, according to the forms of English law, purchase of the grantees their rights to the country. The agents fulfilled their instructions, and asserted the natural liberties of the colonists.

We arrive at the moment when almost for the last time the old spirit of English liberty, such as had been cherished by Sir Edwin Sandys and Southampton and Ferrar, flashed up in the government of the Stuarts. Among the heads of the charter which the agents of Virginia were commanded by their instructions to entreat of the king, it was proposed "that there should be no tax or imposition laid on the people of Virginia but by their own consent, expressed by their representatives in assembly as formerly provided by many acts." "This," wrote Lord Coventry, or one who ex-

pressed his opinion, "this I judge absolutely necessary for their well-being, and what in effect Magna Charta gives; and besides, as they conceive, will secure them from being subject to a double jurisdiction, viz., the lawes of an English parliament where they have noe representatives." The subject was referred by an order in council to Sir William Jones and Francis Winnington, the attorney and solicitor general; and, in their report of the twelfth of October, 1675, they adopted the clause in its fullest extent, with no restriction except the provision "that the concession bee noe bar to any imposition that may bee laid by acts of parliament here," that is, in England, "on the commodities which come from that country." At Whitehall, on the nineteenth of November, this report was submitted to the king in council, who declared himself inclined to give his subjects in Virginia all due encouragement; and directed letters-patent to be prepared confirming all things in the report. The charter was prepared as decreed, and, on the nineteenth of April, 1676, it was ordered by the king in council "that the lord chancellor doe cause the said grant to pass under the great seale of England accordingly." In the progress of their suit, the agents of Virginia were thankful for the support of Coventry, whom they extolled as one of the worthiest of men. They owned the aid of Jones and Winnington; and they had the voices "of many great friends," won by a sense of humanity, or submitting to be bribed. But a stronger influence was secretly and permanently embodied in favor of a despotic administration of the colonies, with the consequent chances of great emoluments to courtiers. On the thirty-first of May, the king in council reversed his decree, and ordered that "the lord high chancellor of England doe forbeare putting the great seale to the patent concerning Virginia, notwithstanding the late order of the nineteenth April last past."

The irrevocable decision against the grant of a charter was made before the news reached England of events which involved the Ancient Dominion in gloom.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT REBELLION IN VIRGINIA.

At the time when the envoys were appointed, Virginia was rocking with the griefs that grew out of its domestic oppressions. The rapid and effectual abridgment of its popular liberties, joined to the uncertain tenure of property that followed the announcement of the royal grants, would have roused any nation; how much more a people like the Virginians! The generation now in existence were chiefly the children of the soil, nurtured in the freedom of the wilderness. Of able-bodied freemen, the number was estimated at not far from eight thousand. No newspapers entered their houses; no printing-press furnished them a book. They had no recreations but such as nature provides in her wilds; no education but such as parents in the desert would give their offspring. The paths were bridleways rather than roads; and the highway surveyors aimed at nothing more than to keep them clear of logs and fallen trees. There was not an engineer in the country. I doubt if there existed what we should call a bridge in the whole dominion. Visits were made in boats or on horseback; and the Virginian, travelling with his pouch of tobacco for currency, swam the rivers, where there was neither ferry nor ford. Almost every planter was his own mechanic. The houses, for the most part of but one story, and made of wood, often of logs, the windows closed by shutters for want of glass, were sprinkled at great distances on both sides of the Chesapeake. There was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. Jamestown was but a place of a state house, one church, and eighteen houses, occupied by about a dozen families. Till very recently, the legislature

had assembled in the hall of an ale-house. Virginia had neither towns nor lawyers. As to shipping, there were as yet no more than two vessels, and these not above twenty tons' burden. A few of the wealthier planters lived in braver state at their large plantations, surrounded by indented servants and slaves. The inventory of Sir William Berkeley gave him seventy horses, as well as large flocks of sheep. "Almost every man lived within sight of a lovely river." The parish embraced a tract which a day's journey could not cross, so that the people met together but once on the Lord's Day, and sometimes not at all; the church, rudely built in some central solitude, was seldom visited by the more remote families, and was liable to become inaccessible by broken limbs from forest trees, or the wanton growth of underwood and thickets.

Here was a new form of human nature. A love of freedom inclining to anarchy pervaded the country; loyalty was a feebler passion than the love of liberty. Existence "without government" seemed to promise to "the general mass"—it is a genuine Virginia sentiment—"a greater degree of happiness" than the tyranny "of the European governments." Men feared oppression more than they feared disorder. In the Old World, the peasantry crowded together into compact villages; the yeomen of Virginia lived very widely asunder, rarely meeting in numbers except at the horse-race or the county court.

It was among such a people, which had never been disciplined to resistance by the heresies of religious sects, which, till the restoration, had found the wilderness a safe protection against tyranny, and had enjoyed "a fifty years' experience of a government easy to the people," that the pressure of increasing grievances excited open discontent. Men gathered together in the forests to talk of their hardships. A collision between that part of the wealth of the country which misused the royal prerogative for their own selfish purposes and the great mass of the numbers and wealth of the country was at hand.

In 1674, on the first spontaneous movement, the men of wealth and established consideration kept aloof. It was easily suppressed by the calm advice "of some discreet persons," in

whom the discontented had confidence. Yet it was not without effect; the county commissioners were ordered to levy no more taxes for their own emoluments. But, as the great abuses continued unreformed, the murmurs were not quieted. The common people were rendered desperate by taxes, which, being levied on polls, deprived labor of nearly all its earnings. To produce an insurrection, nothing was wanting but an excuse for appearing in arms.

The causes which had driven the red men of New England to despair acted with equal force on the natives of Virginia. The Seneca tribe of the Five Nations had chased the Susquehannahs from their abode at the head of the Chesapeake to the vicinity of Piscataway on the Potomac; and Maryland had terminated a war with them and their confederates. In July, 1675, a party of them, crossing from the Maryland to the Virginia shore, pillaged a plantation whose owner they charged with having defrauded them in trade. They were pursued, overtaken, stripped of their spoils, and beaten or killed. To be revenged on the planter, Indian warriors killed two of his servants and his son. A party of thirty Virginians under Brent and Mason followed them across the river, and killed a chief and ten of his men, while the rest fled for their lives. The governor of Maryland complained to Sir William Berkeley of the violation of his jurisdiction. Meantime, the Indians, having obtained a wonderful skill in the use of firearms, built a fort within the border of Maryland, and grew bold and formidable. Virginia and Maryland volunteers joined together, and for seven weeks besieged the fort, losing many men. When five of the chiefs came out to treat for peace, they were kept prisoners, and at last put to death. The besieged made their escape by night with their wives and children and valuable goods, wounding and killing some of the English at their going off. They then spread themselves from the little falls of the Potomac to the falls of James river, carrying terror to every grange; murdering in blind fury, till their passions were glutted; killing at one time thirty-six persons; and then escaping to the woods.

When this intelligence was received, a competent force of horse and foot, under the command of Sir Henry Chicheley,

was ordered to pursue the murderers, with full power to make peace or war. But no sooner were the men in readiness to march than Berkeley, who had a monopoly of the very lucrative Indian trade, suddenly recalled the commission, disbanded the men, and, referring the matter to the next assembly, left the frontier defenceless. As a consequence, the country was laid waste; one parish in Rappahannock county, which, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1676, consisted of seventy-one plantations, was, within the next seventeen days, reduced to eleven. In the twelve months preceding March of that year, "three hundred Christian persons" of Virginia were murdered by the red men. The assembly, when it came together, did nothing to prevent these massacres but to order forts to be built on the heads of rivers and on the frontiers of the country. The measure was universally disliked, as one attended by great expense, and bringing no security; for, by help of the thick woods, swamps, and other covert, the Indians could pass any fort at their pleasure, and their murders, rapines, and outrages became the more barbarous, fierce, and frequent. Many remote plantations were deserted or destroyed. Death ranged the land under the hideous forms of savage cruelty.

The people, who believed the system of forts to be "a juggle of the grandees to engross all the tobacco," the Virginia currency, "into their own hands," asked leave at their own charge to go out against the Indians under any commander whom the governor would appoint. Instead of granting their request, he forbade, by proclamation, under a heavy penalty, the like petitioning in the future, and even gave orders to the garrisons of the forts to undertake nothing against the enemy without first making a report to him and receiving his special orders. The refusal confirmed the jealousy that he was swayed by avarice, for, after prohibiting by proclamation all trade with the Indians, they complained that he privately gave commissions to his friends to truck with them; and that these persons furnished them with more powder and shot than were in the hands of the planters.

The governor received news that formidable bodies of red men were coming down the James river, and were al-

ready within about fifty miles of the plantations; yet, swayed by the interests of himself and colonial courtiers, he still refused to commission any one to resist them. The people of Charles City county, therefore, exercising the natural right of self-defence, with the silent assent of the magistrates, beat up for volunteers, who, as they assembled, wanted nothing but a leader. It happened that Nathaniel Bacon had arrived in that part of the world about fourteen months before. He was of an ancient family and an only son. Born during the contests between the parliament and Charles I., nursed amidst the struggles of the democratic revolution, he had studied in the inns of court, and had travelled widely on the continent of Europe. When about three-and-thirty years of age, he was seized with a desire to see the New World, and came over to Virginia with a large capital. His birth, his culture, and his fortune obtained for him, immediately on his arrival, a seat in the council; and this honor raised his consideration with the people. In person he was tall but slender, of a pensive cast of features, inclined to silence, discreet in speech, and not given to sudden replies; of a pleasing address and a commanding power of elocution. Discoursing with two Virginians on the sadness of the times, the danger from the Susquehannahs, by whom, among others, his overseer had been murdered on his plantation, near where the city of Richmond now towers above flood and vale, they persuaded him to go over and see the volunteers collected on the other side of the James river. As he came among them, of a sudden, without any previous knowledge on his part, they all with one voice shouted, "A Bacon! a Bacon!" and prevailed upon him to become their chief. His consent cheered and animated them, for they looked upon him as the great friend and preserver of the country. On his side, he set forth his purpose not only to destroy the common enemy, but to recover their liberties and to obtain the redress of unjust taxes and laws. The volunteers severally wrote their names in a round-robin, and took an oath to stick fast to one another and to him. The county of New Kent was ripe to take part with them.

Berkeley would grant no permission to them to rise and protect themselves. Then followed just indignation at mis-

spent entreaties; and, as soon as Bacon had three hundred men in arms, he led them against the Indians. At the same time, his abilities gave the ascendency to the principles which he espoused.

Moderation on the part of the government would have restored peace. Sober men in Virginia were of opinion that a few concessions—the secure possession of land, the liberties of free-born subjects of England, a diminution of the public expenses, a tax on real estate rather than on polls alone—would have quieted the colony. But hardly had Bacon begun his march, when Berkeley, yielding to the instigations of a very small number of a selfish faction, proclaimed him and his followers rebels, and levied troops to pursue them. As a consequence, a new insurrection compelled the governor to return to Jamestown. The lower counties had risen in arms, and demanded the "immediate dissolution" of the old assembly, to which they ascribed their griefs.

With the mass of the people against him, the testy cavalier was constrained to yield. The self-continued assembly, which had become hateful by its long usurpation, the selfishness of its members, and its subversion of popular freedom, was dissolved; writs for a new election were issued; and Bacon, returning in triumph from his Indian warfare, was unanimously elected a burgess from Henrico county.

In the choice of this assembly, which went by the name of Bacon, the late disfranchisement of freemen was little regarded. A majority of the members returned were "much infected" with the principles of Bacon; and their speaker, Thomas Godwin, was notoriously a friend to all "the rebellion and treason which distracted Virginia." In the midst of contradictory testimony on their character, the acts of the assembly in June must be taken as paramount authority on the purposes of "the Grand Rebellion in Virginia."

The late expenditures of public money had not been accounted for. High debates arose on the wrongs of the indigent, who were oppressed by taxes alike unequal and exorbitant. The monopoly of the Indian trade was suspended. A compromise with the insurgents was effected; on the one hand, Bacon acknowledged his error in acting with-

out a commission, and the assemblies of disaffected persons were censured as acts of mutiny and rebellion; on the other, he was restored to favor, readmitted into the council, and promised a commission as general, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who made the town ring with their joyous acclamations at the appointment of "the darling of their hopes" to be the defender of Virginia. The church aristocracy was broken up by limiting the term of office of the vestrymen to three years, and reviving the election of them by the freemen of each parish. The elective franchise was restored to the freemen whom the previous assembly had disfranchised; and, as "false returns of sheriffs had endangered the peace," the purity of elections was guarded by wholesome penalties. The arbitrary annual assessments, hitherto made by county magistrates, irresponsible to the people, were prohibited; the Virginians insisted on the exclusive right of taxing themselves, and made provision for the county levy by the vote of their own representatives. The fees of the governor, in cases of probate and administration, were curtailed; the unequal immunities of councillors were abrogated; the sale of wines and ardent spirits was absolutely prohibited; two of the magistrates, notorious for raising county taxes for their private gains, were disfranchised; and finally, that there might be no room for future reproach or discord, all past derelictions were covered by a general amnesty.

The measures of the assembly were not willingly conceded by Berkeley, who refused to sign the commission that had been promised. Fearing treachery, Bacon secretly withdrew, to recount his wrongs to the people; and in a few days he reappeared in the city at the head of nearly five hundred armed men, whom he paraded in front of the state house. The governor, rising from the chair of judicature, came down to him, and told him to his face, and before all his men, that he was a rebel and a traitor, and should have no commission; and, uncovering his naked bosom, required that some of the men might shoot him, before ever he would be drawn to sign or consent to a commission for such a rebel. "No," continued Berkeley, "let us first try and end the difference singly between ourselves," and offered to measure swords with him.

To the challenge Bacon gave only this answer: "Sir, I came not nor intend to hurt a hair of your head, and, for your sword, your honor may please to put it up; it shall rust in the scabbard before ever I shall desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen, who daily inhumanly murder us, and spill our brethren's blood, and no care is taken to prevent it." When passion had subsided, Berkeley yielded. The commission was issued; the governor united with the burgesses and council in transmitting to England warm commendations of the zeal, loyalty, and patriotism of Bacon, and the ameliorating legislation of the assembly was ratified. That better legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the fourth day of July, 1676, just one hundred years, to a day, before the congress of the United States, adopting the declaration framed by a statesman of Virginia, marked an era in the history of the race.

A momentary joy pervaded the colony. Encouraged by the active energy of their general, men scoured the forests and the swamps, wherever an Indian ambush could lie concealed, though not without incurring the censure of failing to spare friendly tribes. But just as the army, which he had collected at the falls of James river, was preparing to march against the savages, the governor violated the amnesty. Repairing to Gloucester county, the most populous and most loyal in Virginia, he summoned a convention of its inhabitants. With great unanimity "the whole convention" disrelished his proposals, and saw in the object of his hatred the defender of their countrymen; but against the advice of the most loyal county in Virginia, and against his own unqualified pledges to the colonial assembly which he might have dissolved, the petulant governor once more declared Bacon and his men rebels and traitors, and endeavored to raise forces to go and surprise them.

The news was conveyed to the camp by Drummond, the former governor of North Carolina, and by Richard Lawrence, a pupil of Oxford, distinguished for learning and sobriety, a man of reflection and energy. "It vexes me to the heart," said Bacon, "that, while I am hunting the wolves and tigers that destroy our lambs, I should myself be pursued as a savage.

Shall persons wholly devoted to their king and country—men hazarding their lives against the public enemy—deserve the appellation of rebels and traitors? The whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior. But those in authority, how have they obtained their estates? Have they not devoured the common treasury? What arts, what sciences, what schools of learning, have they promoted? I appeal to the king and parliament, where the cause of the people will be heard impartially."

Bacon had already taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and his soldiers freely complied with his wish that they should do the like. He now caused the drums to beat and trumpets to sound for calling his men together. Appealing to their consciences as the best witnesses of their right intentions, he proposed to descend the river and demand why the governor and his few friends should betray the lives of the troops whom they themselves had levied to preserve them against the fury of the heathen. To this they all cried: "Amen. We are ready." So by this fatal recall, the troops, who were on the point of marching out against the Indians, turned their swords to their own defence. The great industry and endeavors of the governor to raise a force against Bacon were in vain. His interest proved so weak and his friends so few that he grew sick of the essay, and, "with very grief and sadness of spirit for so bad success, fainted away on horseback in" their presence. Hearing of Bacon's approach to Gloucester, he fled to Accomack.

The field being his own, Bacon led his men to Middle Plantation, now Williamsburg, "the very heart and center of the country," and there he established his quarters. The condition of himself and his followers was become critical. Drummond advised that Berkeley should be deposed, and Sir Henry Chicheley substituted as governor. The counsel was disliked. "Do not make so strange of it," said Drummond; "for I can show, from ancient records, that such things have been done in Virginia." Besides, the period of ten years, for which Berkeley was appointed, had already expired. After much discussion, it was agreed that the retreat of the governor should be taken for an abdication; and Bacon, who had been

a member of the council, with four of his colleagues, sent forth a proclamation "inviting the gentlemen of Virginia to come in and consult with him for the present settlement of his majesty's distracted colony, to preserve its future peace, and to advance the effectual prosecuting of the Indian war."

The discontent increased throughout the province, when, after a year's patience under accumulated oppressions, the envoys of the colonies, themselves by their heavy expenses a new burden, reported no hope of a charter or any remedy of their grievances from England. The call to Virginia was answered; none were willing to sit idle in the time of general calamity. Her most eminent men came together at Middle Plantation. Bacon excelled them all in argument; the public mind was swayed by his judgment, and an oath was taken by the whole convention to support him against the Indians, and, if possible, to prevent a civil war; should the governor persevere in his obstinate self-will, to protect him against every armed force; and even if troops should arrive from England, to resist them, till an appeal could reach the king in person. Copies of this oath were sent to the counties of Virginia; and by the magistrates, and others of the respective precincts, it was administered to the people, "none, or very few, refusing." The wives of Virginia statesmen shared the enthusiasm. "The child that is unborn," said Sarah Drummond, "a notorious and wicked rebel," "shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country." "Should we overcome the governor," said Ralph Weldinge, "we must expect a greater power from England, that would certainly be our ruin." Sarah Drummond remembered that England was divided into hostile factions for the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth. Taking from the ground a small stick, she broke it in twain, adding: "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw." Relief from the hated navigation acts seemed certain. Now "we can build ships," it was urged, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world."

Fortified by the unanimity of the gentlemen of Virginia assembled at Williamsburg, and of the people in their several counties, Bacon led his troops against the savages. Meantime,

Sir William Berkeley collected in Accomack a crowd of base and cowardly followers, allured by the passion for plundering; promising freedom to the servants and slaves of the insurgents, if they would rally under his banner. The English vessels in the harbors joined his side. With a fleet of five ships and ten sloops, attended by a rabble of hirelings, the cavalier sailed for Jamestown, where he landed without opposition. Entering the town, he fell on his knees, returning thanks to God for his safe arrival; and again proclaimed Bacon and his party traitors and rebels.

The cry resounded through the forests for "the countrymen" to come down. "Speed," it was said, "or we shall all be made slaves—man, woman, and child." "Your sword," said Drummond to Lawrence, "is your commission, and mine too; the sword must end it;" and both prepared for resistance.

Having returned from a successful expedition and disbanded his troops, Bacon had retained but a small body of men when the tidings of the armed occupation of Jamestown surprised him in his retirement. His eloquence inspired his few followers with courage. "With marvellous celerity" they hastened toward their enemy. On the way they secured as hostages the wives of royalists who were with Berkeley. They soon appeared under arms before the town, sounded defiance, and, under the mild light of a September moon, threw up a rude intrenchment. Bacon, who valued his friends too much to risk the life of one of them without necessity, could with difficulty hold them back from storming the place.

The followers of Berkeley were too wavering to succeed in a sally, and made excuses to desert. No considerable service was done, except by the seamen. What availed the passionate fury and desperate courage of a brave, irascible old man? Unable to hold his position, he retreated from the town by night.

On the morning after the retreat, Bacon entered the little capital of Virginia. There lay the ashes of Gosnold; there the gallant Smith had told the tale of his adventures; there Pocahontas had sported in the simplicity of innocence. For nearly seventy years it had been the abode of Anglo-Saxons.

As it was well fortified, a council of war resolved to burn the only town in Virginia, that it might not afford shelter for an enemy. When the shades of night descended, and the records of the colony had been removed by Drummond to a place of safety, the village was set on fire. Two of the best houses belonged to Lawrence and Drummond; each of them, with his own hand, kindled the flames that were to lay his dwelling in ashes. The little church, the oldest in the dominion, the newly erected statehouse, were consumed. The ruins of the tower of the church, and memorials in the adjacent graveyard, still mark the peninsula of Jamestown.

The burning of the town appears to have been unwarranted; it may have been the rash counsel of despair. It is chiefly this deed that suspends judgment on the character of the insurrection. Leaving the smoking ruins, Bacon hastened to meet the royalists from the Rappahannock. No engagement ensued; the troops in a body joined the patriot party; and Brent, their leader, was left at the mercy of the insurgents. Even the inhabitants of Gloucester gave pledges of adhesion. Nothing remained but to cross the bay, and revolutionize the eastern shore.

During the siege of Jamestown, the insurgent army had been exposed to the dews and night air of the lowlands. Bacon suddenly sickened, struggled vainly with a most malignant disease, and on the first day of October died. Seldom has a political leader been more honored by his friends. "Who is there now," said they, "to plead our cause? His eloquence could animate the coldest hearts; his pen and sword alike compelled the admiration of his foes, and it was but their own guilt that styled him a criminal. His name must bleed for a season; but when time shall bring to Virginia truth crowned with freedom and safe against danger, posterity shall sound his praises."

The death of Bacon left his party without a head. A series of petty insurrections followed; but in Robert Beverley the royalists found an agent superior to any of the remaining insurgents. The ships in the river, including one which had been recovered from the party of Bacon, were at his disposal, and a warfare in detail restored the supremacy of the governor.

Thomas Hansford, a native Virginian, was the first partisan leader whom Beverley surprised. Young, gay, and gallant, impatient of restraint, keenly sensitive to honor, "a valiant stout man and a most resolved rebel," he disdained to shrink from the malice of destiny, and Berkeley condemned him to be hanged. Neither at his trial nor afterward did he show any diminution of fortitude. He demanded no favor, but that "he might be shot like a soldier, and not hanged like a dog." "You die," it was answered, "not as a soldier, but as a rebel." During the short respite after sentence, he reviewed his life, and expressed penitence for every sin. What was charged on him as rebellion, he denied to have been a sin. "Take notice," said he, as he came to the gibbet, "I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country." That country was Virginia.

Having the advantage of naval superiority, a party of royalists entered York river, and surprised the troops that were led by Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilford. The latter, a younger son of a royalist knight, who had fallen in the wars for Charles I., a truly brave man, and now by his industry a successful emigrant, lost an eye in the skirmish. "Were I stark blind," said he, "the governor would afford me a guide to the gallows." When Cheesman was arraigned for trial, Berkeley demanded: "Why did you engage in Bacon's designs?" Before the prisoner could frame an answer, his young wife pleaded that he had acted under her influence, and falling on her knees said: "My provocations made my husband join in the cause for which Bacon contended; but for me, he had never done what he has done; let me bear the punishment; but let my husband be pardoned." She spoke truth; but the governor answered her only with insult.

Offended pride is merciless; it remembers a former affront as proof of weakness, and seeks to restore self-esteem by a flagrant exercise of recovered power. No sentiment of clemency was tolerated. From fear that a jury would bring in verdicts of aquittal, men were hurried to death from courts-martial. "You are very welcome," exulted Berkeley, with a low bow, on meeting William Drummond, as his prisoner; "I

am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour." The patriot, on the twentieth of January, 1677, avowing the part he had acted, was condemned at one o'clock and hanged at four. His children and wife were driven from their home, to depend on the charity of the planters. When it was deemed safe to resort to the civil tribunal, the judges proceeded with the virulence of accusers. A panic paralyzed the juries. Of those put on trial, none escaped being convicted and sent to the gallows. In defiance of remonstrances, executions continued for ten days, till twenty-two had been hanged. Three others had died of cruelty in prison; three more had fled before trial; two had escaped after conviction. "The old fool," said the kind-hearted Charles II., with truth, "has taken away more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father." And in a public proclamation he censured the conduct of Berkeley, as contrary to his commands and derogatory to his clemency. Nor is it certain when the carnage would have ended, had not the assembly in February voted an address, "that the governor would spill no more blood." "Had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country," said the member from Northampton to his colleague from Stafford. Berkeley was as rapacious as cruel, amassing property by penalties and confiscations. The king promptly superseded him by a special commission to a lieutenant-governor; but he pleaded his higher authority as governor, and refused to give way. When the fair-minded royal commissioners of inquiry visited him, he sought out the hangman of the colony to drive them from his home to their boat in the river; so that they chose to go on foot to the landing-place. Most peremptory orders arrived for his removal. Guns were fired and bonfires kindled at his departure. Public opinion in England censured his conduct with equal severity; and the report of the commissioners in Virginia was fatal to his reputation. He died soon after he reached England.

The memory of those who have been wronged is always pursued by the ungenerous. England, ambitious of absolute colonial supremacy, could not render justice to the principles by which Bacon was swayed. No printing-press was allowed

in Virginia. To speak ill of Berkeley or his friends was punished by whipping or a fine; to speak or write or publish anything, in favor of the rebels or the rebellion, was made a high misdemeanor; if thrice repeated, was evidence of treason. Every accurate account of the insurrection remained in manuscript till the present century.

On this occasion English troops were first introduced into the English colonies in America. After three years, they were disbanded, and mingled with the people.

The results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous for Virginia. Her form of government was defined by royal instructions that had been addressed to Berkeley. Assemblies were required to be called but once in two years, and to sit but fourteen days, unless for special reasons. "You shall take care," said the king, "that the members of assembly be elected only by freeholders." In conformity with these instructions, all the acts of Bacon's assembly, except perhaps one which permitted the enslaving of Indians and which was confirmed and renewed, were absolutely repealed, and the former grievances immediately returned. The private levies, unequal and burdensome, were managed by men who combined to defraud; the public revenues were often misapplied; each church was again subjected to a self-perpetuating vestry. Taxes continued to be levied by the poll. The commissioners sent by the king to inquire into the condition of Virginia allowed every district to present its afflictions, but every measure of reform was made void, and every aristocratic feature that had been introduced into the constitution was perpetuated.

In August, 1677, about two years after Virginia had been granted to Arlington and Culpepper, the latter obtained an appointment as its governor for life, and was proclaimed soon after Berkeley's departure. The Ancient Dominion was changed into a proprietary government, and the administration surrendered, as it were, to one of the proprietaries, who at the same time was sole possessor of the neck between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Culpepper was disposed to regard his office as a sinecure, but the king chid him for remaining in England; and, early in 1680, he made his appearance in his province. His place and his patents he valued

only as property. Clothed by the royal clemency with power to bury past contests, he perverted the office of humanity into a means of enriching himself and increasing his authority. Yet Culpepper was not singular in his selfishness. As the British merchant claimed the monopoly of the commerce of the colonies, as the British manufacturer valued them only as a market for his goods, so British courtiers looked to patronage in America for profit to themselves, or provision for their dependents.

Having, in May, taken the oath of office at Jamestown and organized a council of members friendly to prerogative, the wilful followers of Bacon were disfranchised. To an assembly convened in June, three acts, framed in England and confirmed in advance by the great seal, were proposed for acceptance. The first was of indemnity and oblivion—less clement than had been hoped, yet definitive, and therefore welcome. The second withdrew from the assembly the power of naturalization, and declared it a prerogative of the governor. And the third, still more grievous to colonial liberty, and so hateful to Virginians that it was carried only from hope of pardon for the rebellion, authorized a perpetual export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, and granted the proceeds to the king for the support of government. The royal revenue thus provided was ample and was perpetual.

The salary of the governor of Virginia had been a thousand pounds: for Lord Culpepper it was doubled, because he was a peer. A further grant was made for house-rent. Perquisites of every kind were sought for and increased. Nay, the peer was not an honest man. He defrauded the soldiers of a part of their wages by an arbitrary change in the value of current coin. Having employed the summer profitably, in the month of August he sailed for England from Boston.

The low price of tobacco left the planter without hope. With little regard to its own powers, it petitioned the king to prohibit by proclamation the planting of tobacco in the colonies for one year. The assembly had attempted by legislation to call towns into being and to cherish manufactures.

In 1682, Culpepper returned to reduce Virginia to quiet, and to promote his own interests as proprietor of the North-

ern Neck. A few victims on the gallows silenced discontent. The assembly was convened, and its little remaining control over the executive was wrested from it. The council was the general court; but, according to usage, appeals lay from it to the general assembly. The custom menaced Culpepper with defeat in his attempts to appropriate to himself the cultivated plantations of the Northern Neck. The artful magistrate, for a private and lucrative purpose, fomented a dispute between the council and the assembly. The burgesses, in their high court of appeal, claimed to sit alone, excluding the council from whose decision the appeal was made; and Culpepper, having referred the question to the king for decision, in the next year announced that no appeals whatever should be permitted to the assembly, nor any to the king in council under the value of one hundred pounds sterling. The holders of land who were debtors to Culpepper now lay at his mercy, and were compelled eventually to negotiate a compromise.

Weary of the irksome residence in a province wasted by perverse legislation, Culpepper returned to England. His patent as governor for life was rendered void by a process of law, but only to recover a prerogative for the crown. The council of Virginia reported the griefs and restlessness of the country, and renewed the request that the grant to Culpepper and Arlington might be recalled. The exhaustion of the province rendered negotiation more easy; the design agreed well with the new colonial policy of Charles II. Arlington surrendered his rights to Culpepper; and in July, 1684, Virginia became again a royal province.

Lord Howard of Effingham was Culpepper's successor. Like so many before and after him, he solicited office in America to get money, and resorted to the usual expedient of exorbitant fees. In England his avarice met with no severe reprobation.

The accession of James II., in 1685, made but few changes in the political condition of Virginia. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion gave to it useful citizens. "Lord chief justice is making his campaign in the west:" so wrote the king, with his own hand, in allusion to Jeffries' circuit for punishing the insurgents; "he has condemned several hundreds,

some of whom are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations." The courtiers round James II. clutched at the rich harvest which the rebellion promised. Jeffries heard of the scramble, and thus interposed: "I beseech your majesty that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth ten pound, if not fifteen pound, apiece; and, sir, if your majesty orders these as you have already designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty." The convicts were in part persons of family and education, accustomed to elegance and ease. "Take all care," wrote the monarch, under the countersign of Sunderland, to the government in the colony, "take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves, by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." No Virginia legislature seconded such malice; and in December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned.

On another occasion, Jeffries exerted an opposite influence. Kidnapping had become common in Bristol; and not felons only, but young persons and others, were hurried across the Atlantic and sold for money. At Bristol, the mayor and justices would intimidate small rogues and pilferers, who, under the terror of being hanged, prayed for transportation as the only avenue to safety, and were then divided among the members of the court. The trade was exceedingly profitable—far more so than the slave-trade—and had been conducted for years. By accident it came to the knowledge of Jeffries, who delighted in a fair opportunity to rant. Finding that the aldermen, justices, and the mayor himself were concerned in this sort of man-stealing, he turned to the mayor, who was sitting on the bench, bravely arrayed in scarlet and furs, gave him every ill name which scolding eloquence could devise, and made him go down to the criminal's post at the bar, to plead for himself as a common rogue would have done. The prosecutions depended till the revolution, which made an amnesty; and the judicial kidnappers, retaining their gains, suffered nothing beyond disgrace and terror.

Virginia ceased for a season to be the favorite resort of voluntary emigrants. The presence of a frigate sharpened the zeal of the royal officers in enforcing the acts of navigation. A new tax in England on the consumption of tobacco was injurious to the producer. Culpepper and his council had arraigned a printer for publishing the laws, and ordered him to print nothing till the king's pleasure should be known; and Effingham received the instruction to allow no printing-press on any pretense whatever. The rule was continued under James II. The methods of despotism are monotonous.

To perfect the system, Effingham established a chancery court, in which he himself was chancellor. The councillors might advise, but were without a vote. An arbitrary table of fees followed of course. This is the period when royal authority was at its height in Virginia. The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners, and local magistrates, were all appointed directly or indirectly by the crown. Virginia had no town-meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of a colonial assembly remained, but it was chosen under a restricted franchise; its clerk was ordered to be appointed by the governor; and its power was impaired by the permanent grant of revenue which it could not recall. The indulgence of liberty of conscience and the enfranchisement of papists were suspected in King James as a device to restore dominion "to popery."

In 1685, the first assembly convened after the accession of James II. questioned a part of his negative power. Former laws had been repealed; the king negatived the repeal, and revived the earlier law. The assembly obstinately refused to acknowledge this exercise of prerogative, and brought upon themselves a censure of their "unnecessary debates and contests touching the negative voice," "the disaffected and unquiet disposition of the members, and their irregular and tumultuous proceedings." In 1686, they were dissolved by royal proclamation. James Collins, in 1687, was imprisoned and loaded with irons for treasonable expressions. The servile council pledged to the king their lives and fortunes, but the feeling of personal independence, nourished by the manners

of rural life, could never be repressed. In the assembly of April, 1688, the spirit of the burgesses was greater than ever, and an immediate dissolution of the body seemed to the council the only mode of counteracting their influence. But the governor, in a new country, without soldiers and without a citadel, was compelled to practice moderation. Tyranny was impossible; for it had no powerful instruments. When the prerogative was at its height, it was still too feeble to subdue the colony. Virginia was always "A LAND OF LIBERTY."

Nor let the first tendencies to union pass unnoticed. In the bay of the Chesapeake, Smith had encountered warriors of the Five Nations; and others had fearlessly roamed to the shores of Massachusetts bay, and even invaded the soil of Maine. In 1667 the Mohawks committed ravages near Northampton, on Connecticut river; and the general court of Massachusetts addressed them a letter: "We never yet did any wrong to you, or any of yours," such was the language of the Puritan diplomatists, "neither will we take any from you, but will right our people according to justice." In 1677 Maryland invited Virginia to join with itself and with New York in a treaty of peace with the Seneca Indians, and in the month of August a conference was held with that tribe at Albany. In July, 1684, the governor of Virginia and of New York, and the agent of Massachusetts, met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, to strengthen and burnish the covenant-chain, and plant the tree of peace, of which the top should reach the sun, and the branches shelter the wide land. The treaty extended from the St. Croix to Albemarle. New York was the bond of New England and Virginia. The north and the south were united by the acquisition of NEW NETHERLAND.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW NETHERLAND.

The spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a state prosper, it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the west. Was a sect persecuted, it escaped to the New World. The Reformation, followed by collisions between English dissenters and the Anglican hierarchy, colonized New England; the Reformation, emancipating the Low Countries, led to settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; and they divide the glory of having set the example of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of a popular representation, the United Provinces were their model of a federal union.

At the discovery of America, the Netherlands possessed the municipal institutions of the Roman world and the feudal liberties of the middle ages. The landed aristocracy, the hierarchy, and the municipalities exercised political franchises. The municipal officers, in part appointed by the sovereign, in part perpetuating themselves, had common interests with the industrious citizens, from whom they were selected; and the nobles, cherishing the feudal right of resisting arbitrary taxation, joined the citizens in defending national liberty against encroachments.

The urgencies of war, the Reformation, perhaps also the arrogance of power, often tempted Charles V. to violate the constitutions of the Netherlands. Philip II., on his accession in 1559, formed the purpose of subverting them, and found

coadjutors in the prelates. By increasing the number of bishops, who, in right of their office, had a voice in the states, he, in 1559, destroyed the balance of the constitution.

Thus the power of the sovereign sought to crush inherited privileges. Patriotism and hope animated the provinces; despotism and bigotry were on the side of Philip.

The contest in the Low Countries was one of the most memorable in the history of the human race. All classes were roused to opposition. The nobles framed a solemn petition; the common people broke in pieces the images that filled the churches. Despotism then seized possession of the courts, and invested a commission with absolute power over life and property; to overawe the burghers, the citadels were filled with mercenary soldiers; to strike terror into the nobility, Egmont and Horn were executed. Men fled; but whither? The village, the city, the court, the camp, were held by the tyrant; the fugitive had no asylum but the ocean.

The establishment of subservient courts was followed by arbitrary taxation. But feudal liberty forbade taxation except by consent; and the levying of the tenth penny excited more commotion than the tribunal of blood. Merchant and landholder, citizen and peasant, Catholic and Protestant, were ripe for insurrection; and even with foreign troops Alba vainly attempted to enforce taxation without representation. Just then, on the first of April, 1572, a party of the fugitive "beggars" succeeded in gaining the harbor of Briel, the key of the North Provinces; and, in July of the same year, the states of Holland, creating the Prince of Orange their stadholder, prepared to levy money and troops. In 1575 Zealand joined with Holland in demanding for freedom some better safeguard than the word of Philip II., and in November of the following year nearly all the provinces united to drive foreign troops from their soil. "The spirit that animates them," said Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, "is the spirit of God, and is invincible."

The particular union of five northern provinces at Utrecht, in January, 1579, perfected the insurrection by forming the basis of a sovereignty; and, when their ablest chiefs were put

under the ban, and a price offered for the assassination of the Prince of Orange, the deputies in the assembly at the Hague, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1581, making few changes in their ancient laws, declared their independence by abjuring their king. "The prince," said they, in their manifesto, "is made for the subjects, without whom there would be no prince; and if, instead of protecting them, he seeks to take from them their old freedom and use them as slaves, he must be holden not a prince, but a tyrant, and may justly be deposed by the authority of the state." A rude structure of a commonwealth was the unpremeditated result of the revolution.

The republic of the United Netherlands was by its origin and its nature commercial. The device on an early Dutch coin was a ship laboring on the billows without oar or sails. The rendezvous of its martyrs had been the sea; the muster of its patriot emigrants had been on shipboard; and they had hunted their enemy, as the whale-ships pursue their game, in every corner of the ocean. The two leading members of the confederacy, from their situation, could seek subsistence only on the water. Holland is but a peninsula, intersected by navigable rivers; protruding itself into the sea; crowded with a dense population on a soil saved from the deep by embankments, and kept dry only with pumps driven by windmills. Its houses were rather in the water than on land.

And Zealand is composed of islands. Its inhabitants were nearly all fishermen; its villages were as nests of sea-fowl. In both provinces every house was by nature a nursery of sailors; the sport of children was among the breakers; their boyish pastimes in boats; and, if their first excursions were but voyages to some neighboring port, they soon braved the dangers of every sea. The states advanced to sudden opulence; before the insurrection, they could with difficulty keep their embankments in repair; and now they were able to support large fleets and armies. Their commerce gathered into their harbors the fruits of the wide world. Producing almost no grain of any kind, Holland had the best-supplied granary of Europe; without fields of flax, it swarmed with weavers of linen; destitute of flocks, it became the centre of all woollen manufactures; and provinces which had not a forest built more ships than all

Europe besides. They connected hemispheres. Their enterprising mariners displayed the flag of the republic from Southern Africa to the arctic circle. The ships of the Dutch, said Raleigh, outnumber those of England and ten other kingdoms. To the Italian cardinal the number seemed infinite. Amsterdam was the seat of the commerce of Europe. The sea not only bathed its walls, but flowed through its streets; and its merchantmen lay so crowded together that the beholder from the ramparts could not look through the thick forests of masts and yards. War for liberty became unexpectedly a well-spring of opulence; Holland plundered the commerce of Spain by its maritime force, and supplanted its rivals in the gainful traffic with the Indies. Lisbon and Antwerp were despoiled; Amsterdam, the depot of the merchandise of Europe and of the east, was become beyond dispute the first commercial city of the world; the Tyre of modern times; the Venice of the north; the queen of all the seas.

In 1581, the year after Portugal had been forcibly annexed to Spain and the Portuguese settlements in Asia were become for a season Spanish provinces, the epoch of the independence of the Netherlands, Thomas Buts, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, offered to the states to conduct four ships-of-war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterward, William Usselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling.

In 1594 the port of Lisbon was closed by the king of Spain against the Low Countries. Their carrying trade in Indian goods was lost, unless their ships could penetrate to the seas of Asia. A company of merchants, believing that the coast of Siberia fell away to the southeast, hoped to shorten the voyage at least eight thousand miles by using a northeastern route. A double expedition was sent forth on discovery; two fly-boats vainly tried to pass through the Straits of Veigatz, while, in a large ship, William Barentsen, whom Grotius honored as the peer of Columbus, coasted Nova Zembla to the seventy-seventh degree, without finding a passage.

Netherlanders in the service of Portugal had visited India, Malacca, China, and even Japan. Of these, Cornelius Houtman, in April, 1595, sailed for India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and before his return circumnavigated Java. In the same year, Jacob van Heemskerk, the great mariner and naval hero, aided by Barentsen, renewed the search on the northeast, but attempted in vain to pass to the south of Nova Zembla. The republic, disheartened by the repeated failure, refused to fit out another expedition; but the city of Amsterdam, in 1596, dispatched two ships under Heemskerk and Barentsen to look for the open sea, which, it had been said, was to be found to the north of all known land. Braver men never battled with arctic dangers; they discovered the jagged cliffs of Spitzbergen, and came within ten degrees of the pole. Then Barentsen sought to go around Nova Zembla, and, when his ship was hopelessly enveloped by ice, had the courage to encamp his crew on the desolate northern shore of the island, and cheer them during a winter rendered horrible by famine, cold, and the fierce attacks of huge white bears, whom hunger had maddened. When spring came, the gallant company, traversing more than sixteen hundred miles in two open boats, were tossed for three months by storms and among icebergs, before they could reach the shelter of the White sea. Barentsen sunk under his trials, but was engaged in poring over a sea-chart as he died. The expeditions of the Dutch were without a parallel for daring.

It was not till 1597 that voyages were undertaken from Holland to America. In that year, Bikker of Amsterdam and Leyen of Enkhuisen each formed a company to traffic with the West Indies. The commerce was continued with success; but Asia had greater attractions. In 1598 two-and-twenty ships sailed from Dutch harbors for the Indian seas, in part by the Cape of Good Hope, in part through the Straits of Magellan. When, in 1600, after years of discussion, a plan for a West India company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the states-general, it was not adopted, though its principle was approved.

But the zeal of merchants and of statesmen was concentred on the east, where jealousy of the Portuguese inclined the

native princes and peoples to welcome the Dutch as allies and protectors. In March, 1602, by the prevailing influence of Olden Barneveldt, the advocate of Holland, the Dutch East India company was chartered, with the exclusive right to commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and beyond the Straits of Magellan on the other. The states, unwilling to involve themselves in the chances of war, granted all powers requisite for conquests, colonization, and government. In the age of feudalism, privileged bodies formed the balance of the commercial and manufacturing interests against the aristocracy of the sword, and suited the genius of the republic. The Dutch East India company is the first in the series of great European trading corporations, and became the model for those of France and England.

As years rolled away, the progress of English commerce in the west awakened the attention of the Netherlands. England and Holland had been allies in the contest against Spain; had both spread their sails on the Indian seas; had both become competitors for possessions in America. In the same year in which Smith embarked for Virginia, vast designs were ripening among the Dutch; and Grotius, himself of the commission to which they were referred, acquaints us with the opinions of his countrymen. The United Provinces, it was said, abounded in mariners and in unemployed capital: not the plunder of Spanish commerce, not India itself, America alone, so rich in herbs of healing virtues, in forests, and in precious ores, could exhaust their enterprise. Their merchants had perused every work on the western world, had gleaned intelligence from the narratives of sailors; and now they planned a privileged company, which should count the states-general among its stockholders, and possess exclusively the liberty of approaching America from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan, and Africa from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope. The Spaniards are feeblest, it was confidently urged, where they are believed to be strongest; there would be no war but on the water, the home of the Batavians. It would, moreover, be glorious to bear Christianity to the heathen, and rescue them from their oppressors. Principalities might easily

be won from the Spaniards, whose scattered citadels protected but a narrow zone.

To the eagerness of enterprise, it was replied that war had its uncertain events, the sea its treacheries; the Spaniards would learn naval warfare by exercise; and the little fleets of the provinces could hardly blockade an ocean or battle for a continent; the costs of defence would exceed the public resources; home would be lost in the search for a foreign world, of which the air breathed pestilence, the natives were cannibals, the unoccupied regions were hopelessly wild. The party that desired peace with Spain, and counted Grotius and Olden Barneveldt among its leaders, for a long time succeeded in defeating every effort at Batavian settlements in the west.

While the negotiations with Spain postponed the formation of a West India company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel.

In 1607 a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the east, contributed the means for a new attempt to discover the near passage to Asia; and Henry Hudson, an Englishman by birth, was the chosen leader of the expedition. With his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country or the passage across the north. He came nearer the pole than any earlier navigator; but, after he had renewed the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return.

The next year beheld Hudson once more on a voyage, to ascertain if the seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla open a path to China.

The failure of two expeditions daunted Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the great navigator. The discovery of the passage was the desire of his life; and, repairing to Holland, he offered his services to the Dutch East India company. The Zealanders, disheartened by former ill-success, made objections; but they were overruled by the directors for Amsterdam; and on the fourth day of April, 1609, five days before the truce with Spain, the Half Moon, a yacht of about eighty tons' burden, commanded by Hudson and manned by a mixed crew of Netherlanders and Englishmen, his

son being of the number, set sail for China by way of the north-east. On the fifth day of May he had attained the height of the north cape of Norway; but fogs and fields of ice near Nova Zembla closed against him the straits of Veigatz. Remembering the late accounts from Virginia, Hudson, with prompt decision, turned to the west, to look for some opening north of the Chesapeake. On the thirtieth of May he took in water at the Faroe Isles, and in June was on the track of Frobisher. Early in July, with foremast carried away and canvas rent in a gale, he found himself among fishermen from France on the banks of Newfoundland. On the eighteenth he entered a very good harbor on the coast of Maine, mended his sails, and refitted his ship with a foremast from the woods. On the fourth of August, a boat was sent on shore at the headland which Gosnold seven years before had called Cape Cod, and which was now named New Holland; and on the eighteenth the Half Moon rode at sea off the Chesapeake bay, which was known to be the entrance to the river of King James in Virginia. Here Hudson changed his course. On the twenty-eighth he entered the great bay, now known as Delaware, and gave one day to its rivers, its currents and soundings, and the aspect of the country. Then, sailing to the north along the low sandy coast that appeared like broken islands in the surf, on the second of September he was attracted by the "pleasant sight of the high hills" of Navesink. On the following day, as he approached the "bold" land, three separate rivers seemed to be in sight. He stood toward the northernmost, which was probably Rockaway Inlet; but, finding only ten feet of water on its bar, he cast about to the southward, and almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, he sounded his way to an anchorage within Sandy Hook.

On the fourth, the ship went further up the Horse Shoe to a very good harbor near the New Jersey shore; and that same day the people of the country came on board to traffic for knives and beads. On the fifth, a landing was made from the Half Moon. When Hudson stepped on shore, the natives stood round and sang in their fashion. Men, women, and children were feather-mantled, or clad in loose furs. Their

food was Indian corn, which, when roasted, was pronounced to be excellent. They always carried with them maize and tobacco. Some had pipes of red copper, with earthen bowls, and wore copper ornaments round their necks. Their boats were made each of a single hollowed tree. Their weapons were bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones. They slept abroad on mats of bulrushes or on the leaves of trees. They were friendly, but thievish, and crafty in carrying away what they fancied. The woods, it was specially noticed, abounded in "goodly oakes," and the new comers never ceased to admire the great girth of the trees.

On the sixth, John Colman and four others, in a boat, sounded the Narrows, and passed through Kill van Kull to Newark bay. The air was very sweet, and the land as pleasant with grass and flowers and trees as they had ever seen; but, on the return, the boat was attacked by two canoes, and Colman killed by an arrow.

On Wednesday, the ninth, Hudson moved cautiously from the lower bay into the Narrows; and on the eleventh, by aid of a very light wind, he went into the great river of the north, and rode all night in a harbor, which was safe against every wind.

On the morning of the twelfth, the natives, in eight-and-twenty canoes, crowded about him, bringing beans and very good oysters. The day was fair and warm, though the light wind was from the north; and as Hudson, under the brightest autumnal sun, gazed around, having left behind him the Narrows opening to the ocean, before him the noble stream flowing from above Weehawken with a broad, deep channel between forest-crowned palisades and the gently swelling banks of Manhattan, he made a record that "it was as fair a land as can be trodden by the foot of man." That night he anchored just above Manhattanville. The flood-tide of the next morning and of evening brought him near Yonkers. On the fourteenth, a strong south-east wind wafted him rapidly into the Highlands.

At daybreak, on the fifteenth, mists hung over the landscape; but, as they rose, the sun revealed the neighborhood of West Point. With a south wind the Half Moon soon

emerged from the mountains that rise near the water's edge; sweeping upward, it passed the elbow at Hyde Park, and at night anchored a little below Red Hook, within the shadow of the majestic Catskill range, which it was noticed stands at a distance from the river.

Trafficking with the natives, who were "very loving," taking in fresh water, grounding at low tide on a shoal, the Netherlanders, on the evening of the seventeenth, reached no higher than the latitude of about forty-two degrees eighteen minutes, just above the present city of Hudson. The next day Hudson went on shore in one of the boats of the natives with an aged chief of a small tribe of the River Indians. He was taken to a house well constructed of oak bark, circular in shape, and arched in the roof, the granary of the beans and maize of the last year's harvest; while outside enough of them lay drying to load three ships. Two mats were spread out as seats for the strangers; food was immediately served in neat red wooden bowls; men, who were sent at once with bows and arrows for game, soon returned with pigeons; a fat dog was killed; and haste made to prepare a feast. When Hudson refused to wait, they supposed him to be afraid of their weapons; and, taking arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. The country was pleasant and fruitful, bearing wild grapes. "Of all lands on which I ever set my foot," says Hudson, "this is the best for tillage." The River Indians, for more than a century, preserved the memory of his visit.

The Half Moon, on the nineteenth, drew near the landing of Kinderhook, where the Indians brought on board skins of beaver and otter. Hudson ventured no higher with the yacht; an exploring boat ascended a little above Albany to where the river was but seven feet deep, and the soundings grew uncertain.

So, on the twenty-third, Hudson turned his prow toward Holland, leaving the friendly tribes persuaded that the Dutch would revisit them the next year. As he went down the river, imagination peopled the region with towns. A party which, somewhere in Ulster county, went to walk on the west bank, found an excellent soil, with large trees of oak and

walnut and chestnut. The land near Newburg seemed a very pleasant site for a city. On the first of October Hudson passed below the mountains. On the fourth, not without more than one conflict with the savages, he sailed out of "the great mouth of THE GREAT RIVER" which bears his name; and, about the season of the return of John Smith from Virginia to England, he steered for Europe, leaving to its solitude the beautiful land which he admired beyond any country in the world.

Sombre forests shed a melancholy grandeur over the useless magnificence of nature, and hid in their deep shades the rich soil which no sun had ever warmed. No axe had levelled the giant progeny of the crowded groves, in which the fantastic forms of limbs, withered or riven by lightning, contrasted strangely with the verdure of a younger growth of branches. The wanton grape-vine, fastening its leafy coils to the top of the tallest forest tree, swung with every breeze, like the loosened shrouds of a ship. Trees might everywhere be seen breaking from their root in the marshy soil, and threatening to fall with the first rude gust; while the ground was strown with the ruins of former woods, over which a profusion of wild flowers wasted their freshness in mockery of the gloom. Reptiles sported in the stagnant pools, or crawled unharmed over piles of mouldering logs. The spotted deer crouched among the thickets; and there were none but wild animals to crop the uncut herbage of the prairies. Silence reigned, broken by the flight of land-birds or the flapping of water-fowl, and rendered more dismal by the howl of beasts of prey. The streams, not yet limited to a channel, spread over sand-bars, tufted with copses of willow, or flowed through wastes of reeds; or slowly but surely undermined the groups of sycamores that grew by their side. The smaller brooks spread out into sedgy swamps, that were overhung by clouds of mosquitoes; masses of decaying vegetation fed the exhalations with the seeds of pestilence, and made the balmy air of the summer's evening as deadly as it seemed grateful.

And man, the occupant of the soil, untamed as the savage scene, was in harmony with the rude nature by which he was surrounded; a vagrant over the continent, in constant

warfare with his fellow man; the bark of the birch his canoe; strings of shells his ornaments, his record, and his coin; the roots of uncultivated plants among his resources for food; his knowledge in architecture surpassed both in strength and durability by the skill of the beaver; bended saplings the beams of his house; the branches and rind of trees its roof; drifts of leaves his couch; mats of bulrushes his protection against the winter's cold; his religion the adoration of nature; his morals the promptings of undisciplined instinct; disputing with the wolves and bears the lordship of the soil, and dividing with the squirrel the wild fruits with which the universal woodlands abounded.

The history of a country is modified by its climate, and, in many of its features, determined by its geographical situation. The region which Hudson had discovered possesses near the sea an unrivalled harbor; a river that admits the tide far into the interior; on the north, a chain of great lakes which have their springs in the heart of the continent; within its own limits the sources of rivers that flow to the gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, and to the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware. Of all this, long before Europeans anchored off Sandy Hook, the warriors of the Five Nations availed themselves in their excursions to Quebec, to the Ohio, or the Susquehanna. With just sufficient difficulties to irritate, and not enough to dishearten, New York united richest lands with the highest adaptation to foreign and domestic commerce.

How changed is the scene from the wilds on which Hudson gazed! The earth glows with the colors of civilization; the meadows are enamelled with choicest grasses; woodlands and cultivated fields are harmoniously blended; the birds of spring find their delight in orchards and trim gardens, variegated with selected plants from every temperate zone; while the brilliant flowers of the tropics bloom from the windows of the greenhouse, or mock at winter in the saloon. The yeoman, living like a good neighbor near the fields he cultivates, glories in the fruitfulness of the valleys, and counts with honest exultation the flocks and herds that browse in safety on the hills. The thorn has given way to the rosebush; the cultivated vine clambers over rocks where the brood of

serpents used to nestle; while industry smiles at the changes she has wrought, and inhales the bland air which now has health on its wings.

And man is still in harmony with nature, which he has subdued, developed, and adorned. For him the rivers that flow to remotest climes mingle their waters; for him the lakes gain new outlets to the ocean; for him the arch spans the flood, and science spreads iron pathways to the recent wilderness; for him the hills yield up the shining marble and the enduring granite; for him immense rafts bring down the forests of the interior; for him the marts of the city gather the produce of all climes, and libraries collect the works of every language and age. The passions of society are chastened into purity; manners are made benevolent by refinement; and the virtue of the country is the guardian of its peace. Science investigates the powers of every plant and mineral, to find medicines for disease; schools of surgery rival the establishments of the Old World; the genius of letters begins to unfold its powers in the warm sunshine of public favor. An active daily press, vigilant from party interests, free even to dissoluteness, watches the progress of society, and communicates every fact that can interest humanity; and commerce pushes its wharfs into the sea, blocks up the wide rivers with its fleets, and sends its ships, the pride of naval architecture, to every zone.

A happy return voyage brought the Half Moon into Dartmouth on the seventh of November. There the vessel was arbitrarily delayed, and the services of its commander and English seamen were claimed by their liege. Hudson could only forward to his employers an account of his discoveries; he never again saw Holland or the land which he eulogized.

The Dutch East India company refused to search further for the north-western passage; but English merchants, renewing courage, formed a company, and Hudson, in The Discovery, engaged again in his great pursuit. He had already explored the north-east and the north, and the region between the Chesapeake and Maine. There was no room for hope but to the north of Newfoundland. Proceeding by way of Iceland, where "the famous Hecla" was casting out fire, passing Greenland and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed on the second of

August, 1610, into the straits which bear his name. As he came out from the passage upon the wide gulf, he believed that he beheld "a sea to the westward," so that the short way to the Pacific was found. How great was his disappointment, when he found himself embayed in a labyrinth without end. Still confident of ultimate success, the determined mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. His crew murmured at the sufferings of a winter for which no preparation had been made. At length the late and anxiously expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards and English, and Danes and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe. For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a midsummer day, in a latitude where the sun, at that season, hardly goes down, and evening twilight mingles with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of hunger and cold? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which he was probably overwhelmed. The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument.

The Half Moon, having been detained for many months in Dartmouth, by the jealousy of the English, did not reach Amsterdam till the middle of July, 1610, too late, perhaps, in the season for the immediate equipment of a new voyage. At least no definite trace of a voyage to Manhattan in that year has been discovered. Besides, to avoid a competition with England, the Dutch ambassador at London, that same year, proposed a joint colonization of Virginia, as well as a partner-

ship in the East India trade; but the offer was put aside from fear of the superior "art and industry of the Dutch."

In 1613, or in one of the two previous years, the experienced Hendrik Christiaensen, of Cleve, "and the worthy Adriaen Block, chartered a ship with the skipper Ryser," and made a voyage into the waters of New York, bringing back rich furs, and two sons of native sachems.

The states general, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1614, ordained that private adventurers might enjoy an exclusive privilege for four successive voyages to any passage, haven, or country they should thereafter find. With such encouragement, a company of merchants, in the same year, sent five small vessels, of which the Fortune, of Amsterdam, had Christiaensen for its commander; the Tiger, of the same port, Adriaen Block; the Fortune, of Hoorn, Cornelis Jacobsen May, to extend the discoveries of Hudson, as well as to trade with the natives.

The Tiger was accidentally burnt near the island of Manhattan; but Adriaen Block, building a yacht of sixteen tons' burden, which he named the Unrest, plied forth to explore the vicinity. First of European navigators, he steered through Hellgate, passed the archipelago near Norwalk, and discovered the river of Red Hills, which we know as the Housatonic. From the bay of New Haven he turned to the east, and ascended the beautiful river which he called the Freshwater, but which, to this hour, keeps its Indian name of Connecticut. Near the site of Wethersfield he came upon one Indian tribe; just above Hartford, upon another; and he heard tales of the Horicans, who dwelt in the west, and moved over lakes in bark canoes. The Pequods he found on the banks of their river. At Montauk Point, then occupied by a savage nation, he reached the ocean, proving the land east of the sound to be an island. After discovering the island which bears his name, and exploring both channels of that which owes to him the name of Roode Eiland, now Rhode Island, the mariner from Holland imposed the names of places in his native land on groups in the Atlantic, which, years before, Gosnold and other English navigators had visited. The Unrest sailed beyond Cape Cod; and, while John Smith was

making maps of the bays and coasts of Maine and Massachusetts, Adriaen Block traced the shore as far, at least, as Nahant. Then leaving the American-built yacht at Cape Cod, to be used by Cornelis Hendricksen in the fur trade, Block sailed in Christiaensen's ship for Holland.

The states general, in an assembly where Olden Barneveldt was present, readily granted to the united company of merchants interested in these discoveries a three years' monopoly of trade with the territory between Virginia and New France, from forty to forty-five degrees of latitude. Their charter, given on the eleventh of October, 1614, names the extensive region NEW NETHERLAND. Its northern part John Smith had that same year called NEW ENGLAND.

To prosecute their commerce with the natives, Christiaensen built for the company, on Castle island, south of the present city of Albany, a truck-house and military post. The building was thirty-six feet by twenty-six, the stockade fifty-eight feet square, the moat eighteen feet wide. The garrison was composed of ten or twelve men. The fort, which may have been begun in 1614, which was certainly finished in 1615, was called Nassau; the river for a time was known as the Maurice. With the Five Nations a friendship grew up, which was soon ratified according to the usages of the Iroquois, and during the power of the Dutch was never broken. Such is the beginning of Albany: it was the outpost of the Netherland fur trade.

The United Provinces, now recognised even by Spain as free countries, provinces, and states, set no bounds to their enterprise. The world seemed not too large for their commerce under the genial influence of liberty, achieved after a struggle longer and more desperate than that of Greece with Persia. This is the golden age of their trade with Japan, and the epoch of their alliance with the emperor of Ceylon. In 1611, their ships once again braved the frosts of the arctic circle in search of a new way to China; and it was a Dutch discoverer, Schouten, from Hoorn, who, in 1616, left the name of his own beloved sea-port on the southernmost point of South America. In the same year a report was made of further explorations in North America. Three Netherlanders—who went

up the Mohawk valley, struck a branch of the Delaware, and made their way to Indians near the site of Philadelphia—were found by Cornelis Hendricksen, as he came in the Unrest to explore the bay and rivers of Delaware. On his return to Holland, in 1616, the merchants by whom he had been employed claimed the discovery of the country between thirty-eight and forty degrees. He described the inhabitants as trading in sables, furs, and other skins; the land as a vast forest, abounding in bucks and does, in turkeys and partridges; the climate temperate, like that of Holland; the trees mantled by the vine. But the states general refused to grant a monopoly of trade.

On the first day of January, 1618, the exclusive privilege conceded to the company of merchants for New Netherland expired; but voyages continued to be made by their agents as well as by rival enterprise. The fort near Albany having been destroyed by a flood, a new post was taken on Norman's Kill. But the strife of political parties still retarded the establishment of permanent settlements. By the constitution of the Low Countries, the municipal officers, who were named by the stadholder or were self-renewed on the principle of close corporations, appointed delegates to the provincial states; and these, again, a representative to the states general. The states, the true personation of a fixed commercial aristocracy, resisted popular innovations; and the same instinct which led the Romans to elevate Julius Cæsar, the commons of England to sustain Henry VII., the Danes to confer hereditary power on the descendants of Frederick III., the French to substitute absolute for feudal monarchy, induced the people of Holland to favor the stadholder. The antagonism extended to domestic politics, theology, and international intercourse. The friends of the stadholder asserted sovereignty for the states general, while the party of Olden Barneveldt and Grotius, with greater reason in point of historic facts, claimed sovereignty exclusively for the provincial assemblies. Prince Maurice, who desired to renew the war with Spain, favored colonization in America; the party of Barneveld, fearing the increase of executive power, opposed it from fear of new collisions. The Orthodox, who satisfied the natural passion for equality by

denying personal merit, and ascribing every virtue and capacity to the benevolence of God, leaned to the crowd; while the Arminians, nourishing pride by asserting power and merit in man, commended their creed to the upholders of numerous local sovereignties. Thus the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadholder, were arrayed against the provincial states and municipalities. The colonization of New York by the Dutch depended on the struggle, and the issue was not long doubtful. The excesses of political ambition, disguised under the forms of religious controversy, led to violent counsels. In August, 1618, Olden Barneveldt and Grotius were taken into custody.

In November, 1618, a few weeks after the first acts of violence, the states general gave a limited incorporation to a company of merchants; yet the conditions of the charter were not inviting, and no organization took place. In May of the following year, Grotius, the first political writer of his age, was condemned to imprisonment for life, and, by the default of the stadholder, Olden Barneveldt, at the age of threescore years and twelve, the venerable founder of the republic, was conducted to the scaffold.

These events hastened the colonization of New Netherland, where as yet no Europeans had repaired except commercial agents and their subordinates. In 1620, merchants of Holland, who had thus far had a trade only in Hudson river, wished to plant there a new commonwealth, lest the king of Great Britain should first people its banks with the English nation. To this end it was proposed to send over John Robinson, with four hundred families of his persuasion; but the pilgrims had not lost their love for the land of their nativity, and the states were unwilling to guarantee them protection. A voyage from Virginia, to vindicate the trade in the Hudson for England, proved a total loss. The settlement on that river grew directly out of the great continental struggles of Protestantism.

The thirty years' war of religion in Germany had begun; the twelve years' truce between the Netherlands and the Spanish king had nearly expired; Austria hoped to crush the Reformation in the empire, and Spain to recover dominion

over its ancient provinces. The states general, whose existence was menaced by a combination of hostile powers, were summoned to display unparalleled energy in their foreign relations; and on the third of June, 1621, the Dutch West India company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, was incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter. It was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the straits of Magellan to the remotest north. Subscription to its joint stock was open to every nation; the states general made it a gift of half a million of guilders, and were stockholders to the amount of another half million. The franchises of the company were immense, that it might lay its own plans, provide for its own defence, and in all things take care of itself. The states general, in case of war, were to be known only as its allies and patrons. While it was expected to render efficient aid in the impending war with Spain, its permanent objects were the peopling of fruitful unsettled countries and the increase of trade. It might acquire provinces, but only at its own risk; and it was endowed with absolute power over its possessions, subject to the approval of the states general. The company was divided into five branches or chambers, of which that in Amsterdam represented four ninths of the whole. The government was intrusted to a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen represented the five branches, and one was named by the states.

A nation of merchants gave away the leave to appropriate continents; and the corporate company, invested with a boundless liberty of choice, culled the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherland.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW SWEDEN.

Colonization on the Hudson and the Delaware was neither the motive nor the main object of the establishment of the Dutch West India company; the territory was not described either in the charter or at that time in any public act of the states general, which neither made a formal specific grant nor offered to guarantee the possession of a single foot of land. Before the chamber of Amsterdam, under the authority of the company, assumed the care of New Netherland, while the trade was still prosecuted by private enterprise, the English privy council listened to the complaint of Arundel, Gorges, Argall, and Mason of the Plymouth company against "the Dutch intruders;" and by the king's direction, in February, 1622, Sir Dudley Carleton, then British ambassador at the Hague, claiming the country as a part of New England, required the states general to stay the prosecution of their plantation. This remonstrance received no explicit answer; while Carleton reported of the Dutch that all their trade there was in ships of sixty or eighty tons at the most, to fetch furs, nor could he learn that they had either planted or designed to plant a colony. The English, at that time disheartened by the sufferings and losses encountered in Virginia, were not disposed to incur the unprofitable expense of a new settlement; and the Dutch ships, which went over in 1622, found none to dispute the possession of the country.

The organization of the West India company, in 1623, was the epoch of its zealous efforts at colonization. In the spring of that year, the New Netherland, a ship of two hundred and sixty tons' burden, carried out thirty families. They were

chiefly Walloons, Protestant fugitives from Belgian provinces. April was gone before the vessel reached Manhattan. A party under the command of Cornelis Jacobsen May, who has left his name on the southern county and cape of New Jersey, ascended the river Delaware, then known as the South river of the Dutch, and on Timber creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, built Fort Nassau. At the same time Adriaen Joris, on the site of Albany, threw up and completed the fort named Orange. Eighteen families were settled round the fort in huts of bark, and were protected by covenants of friendship with the various tribes of Indians.

The next year, 1624, may be taken as the era of a continuous civil government, with Cornelis Jacobsen May as the first director. It had power to punish, but not with death; judgments for capital crimes were to be referred to Amsterdam. The ship that took over emigrants returned laden with furs, and the Dutch in the New World were reported to be bravely prosperous.

In 1625, May was succeeded by William Verhulst. The colony was gladdened by the arrival of two large ships freighted with cattle and horses, as well as swine and sheep. At Fort Orange a child of Netherland parentage was born. In that year, Frederick Henry, the new stadholder, was able to quell the passions of religious sects, and unite all parties in a common love of country. Danger from England was diminished; for Charles I., soon after his accession, entered into a most intimate alliance with the Dutch. Just then Jean de Laet, a member of the chamber of Amsterdam, in an elaborate work on the West Indies, opportunely drew the attention of his countrymen to their rising colony, and published Hudson's glowing description of the land.

Under such auspices, Peter Minuit, a German of Wesel, in January, 1626, sailed for New Netherland as its director-general. He arrived there on the fourth of May. Hitherto the Dutch had no title to ownership of the land; Minuit purchased the island of Manhattan from its native proprietors. The price paid was sixty guilders, about twenty-four dollars, for more than twenty thousand acres. The southern point

was selected for "a battery," and lines were drawn for a fort, which took the name of New Amsterdam. The town had already thirty houses, and the emigrants' wives had borne them children. In the want of a regular minister, two "consolers of the sick" read to the people on Sundays "texts out of the scriptures, together with the creeds."

No danger appeared in the distance except from the pretensions of England. The government of Manhattan sought an interchange of "friendly kindness and neighborhood" with the nearest English at New Plymouth; and by a public letter, in March, 1627, it claimed mutual "good-will and service," pleading "the nearness of their native countries, the friendship of their forefathers, and the new covenant between the states general and England against the Spaniards." Bradford, in reply, gladly accepted the "testimony of love." "Our children after us," he added, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." His benediction was sincere; though he called to mind that the English patent for New England extended to forty degrees, within which, therefore, the Dutch had no right "to plant or trade;" and he especially begged them not to send their yachts into the Narragansett.

"Our authority to trade and plant we derive from the states of Holland, and will defend it," rejoined Minuit. But, in October of the same year, he sent De Rasières, who stood next him in rank, on a conciliatory embassy to New Plymouth. The envoy proceeded in state with soldiers and musicians. At Scusset, on Cape Cod bay, he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "was honorably attended with the noise of trumpets." He succeeded in concerting a mutual trade; but Bradford still warned the authorities of New Amsterdam to "clear their title" to their lands without delay. The advice seemed like a wish to hunt the Dutch out of their infant colony, and led the board of nineteen to ask of the states general forty soldiers for its defence.

Such were the rude beginnings of New Netherland. The women and children of the colony were concentred on Manhattan, which, in 1628, counted a population of two hundred and seventy souls, including Dutch, Walloons, and slaves from

Angola. Jonas Michaelius, a clergyman, arriving in April of that year, "established a church," which chose Minuit one of its two elders, and at the first administration of the Lord's Supper counted fifty communicants. This was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game as far as the St. Lawrence, and the skiffs of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay and inlet, from Narragansett to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs and wooden chimneys and windmills. There had been no extraordinary charge; there was no multitude of people; but labor was well directed and profitable; and the settlement promised fairly both to the state and to the undertakers. The experiment in feudal institutions followed.

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the alluring pursuit of the West India company. On a single occasion, in 1628, the captures secured by its privateers were almost eightyfold more valuable than all the exports from their colony for the four preceding years. While the company of merchant warriors, conducting their maritime enterprises like princes, were making prizes of the rich fleets of Portugal and Spain, and, by their victories, pouring the wealth of America into their treasury, the states general interposed to subject the government of foreign conquests to a council of nine; and, in 1629, the board of nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patroons who desired to found colonies in New Netherland.

These colonies were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. Every one who would emigrate on his own account was promised as much land as he could cultivate; but husbandmen were not expected to emigrate without aid. The liberties of Holland were the fruit of municipalities; the country people were subordinate to their landlord, against whose oppression the town was their refuge. The boors enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and had not had the experience required for planting states on a principle of equality. To the enterprise of proprietaries New Netherland was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls became lord of the manor, or patroon, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonize.

Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching indefinitely far into the interior; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patroon, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable; but there was no provision for their maintenance. The colonists were forbidden to manufacture any woollen or linen or cotton fabrics; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch weavers was punishable as perjury. The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of the corporation; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of its territory. In June, 1629, three years, therefore, before the concession of the charter for Maryland, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, both directors of the Amsterdam chamber, bargained with the natives for the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware river; in July, 1630, this purchase of an estate, more than thirty miles long, was ratified at Fort Amsterdam by Minuit and his council. It is the oldest deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the water-line of the two southern counties of that state. Still larger domains were in the same year appropriated by the agents of another director of the Amsterdam chamber, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, to whom successive purchases from Mohawk and Mohican chiefs gave titles to land north and south of Fort Orange. His deeds were promptly confirmed; so that his possessions, including a later supplementary acquisition, extended above and below Fort Orange, for twenty-four miles on each side of the river, and forty-eight miles into the interior. In the same year he sent out emigrants to the colony of Rensselaerwyck. In July, 1630, Michael Pauw, another director, bought Staten Island; in the following November he became the patroon of Hoboken and

what is now Jersey City; and he named his "colonie" on the mainland Pavonia.

The company had designed by its charter of liberties to favor the peopling of the province, and yet to retain its trade; under pretence of advancing agriculture, individuals had acquired a title to all the important points where the natives resorted for traffic. As a necessary consequence, the feudal possessors were often in collision with the central government, while, to the humble emigrant, the monopoly of commerce was aggravated by the monopoly of land.

A company was soon formed to colonize the tract acquired by Godyn and Blommaert. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania, was undertaken by a company, of which Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Blommaert, the historian De Laet, and a new partner, David Pietersen de Vries, were members. By joint enterprise, in December, 1630, a ship of eighteen guns, commanded by Pieter Heyes, and laden with emigrants, store of seeds, cattle, and agricultural implements, embarked from the Texel, partly to cover the southern shore of Delaware bay with fields of wheat and tobacco, and partly for a whale fishery on the coast. A yacht which went in company was taken by a Dunkirk privateer; early in the spring of 1631 the larger vessel reached its destination, and just within Cape Henlopen, on Lewes creek, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The superintendence of the settlement was intrusted to Gillis Hosset. A little fort was built and well beset with palisades; the arms of Holland were affixed to a pillar; the country received the name of Swaanendael; the water that of Godyn's bay. The voyage of Heyes was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to this colony. According to English rule, occupancy was necessary to complete a title to the wilderness; and the Dutch now occupied Delaware.

On the fifth of May, Heyes and Hosset, in behalf of Godyn and Blommaert, made a further purchase from Indian chiefs of the opposite coast of Cape May, for twelve miles on the bay, on the sea, and in the interior; and, in June, this sale of a tract, twelve miles square, was formally attested at Manhattan.

Animated by the courage of Godyn, the patroons of Swaanendael fitted out a second expedition, under the command of De Vries. But, before he set sail, news was received of the destruction of the fort, and the murder of its people. Hosset, the commandant, had caused the death of an Indian chief; and the revenge of the savages was not appeased till not one of the emigrants remained alive. De Vries, on his arrival, found only the ruins of the house and its palisades, half consumed by fire, and here and there the bones of the colonists.

Before the Dutch could recover the soil of Delaware from the natives, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. Distracted by anarchy, the administration of New Netherland could not withstand encroachments. The too powerful patroons disputed the fur trade with the agents of the West India company. In 1632, to still the quarrels, the discontented Minuit was displaced; but the inherent evils in the system were not lessened by appointing as his successor the selfish and incompetent Wouter van Twiller. The English government claimed that New Netherland was planted only on sufferance. The ship in which Minuit embarked for Holland entered Plymouth in a stress of weather, and was detained for a time on the allegation that it had traded without license in a part of the king's dominions. Van Twiller, who arrived at Manhattan in April, 1633, was defied by an English ship, which sailed up the river before his eyes. The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. On the eighth of January, 1633, the soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and a fort was erected on land within the present limits of that city, some months before the pilgrims of Plymouth colony raised their block-house at Windsor, and more than two years before the people of Hooker and Haynes, in 1635, began the commonwealth of Connecticut. Like the banks of the Hudson, the country had been first explored, and even occupied, by the Dutch; but should a log-hut and a few straggling soldiers seal a territory against other emigrants? The English planters were on a soil of which the

English monarch had made a grant; they were there with their wives and children. It were a sin, said they, to leave so fertile a land unimproved. Their religious enthusiasm, zeal for popular liberty, and numbers, did not leave the issue uncertain. Altercations continued for years. The Dutch fort remained in the hands of the Dutch West India company till it was surrounded by English towns. At last, the English in Connecticut grew so numerous as not only to overwhelm its garrison, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to plant a part of Long Island. In 1640, the second year of the government of William Kieft, the arms of the Dutch on the east end of that island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.

While the New England men were thus encroaching on the Dutch on the east, a new competitor for possessions in America appeared in Delaware bay. Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest benefactor of mankind in the line of Swedish kings, had discerned the advantages which might be expected from colonies and widely extended commerce. In 1624, the royal zeal was encouraged by William Usselinx, a Netherlander, who for many years had given thought to the subject. At his instance, in June, 1626, a commercial company, with exclusive privileges to traffic beyond the straits of Gibraltar and with the right of planting colonies, was sanctioned by the king, and, on the first of May, 1627, incorporated by the states of Sweden. The stock was open to all Europe for subscription; the king himself pledged four hundred thousand dollars of the royal treasure on equal risks; the chief place of business was established at Gottenburg; a branch was promised to any city which would embark three hundred thousand dollars in the undertaking. The government of the future colonies was reserved to a royal council; for "politics," says the charter, "lie beyond the profession of merchants." Men of every rank were solicited to engage in the enterprise; it was resolved to invite "colonists from all the nations of Europe." Other nations employed slaves in their colonies; and "slaves," said they, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with

wives and children." To the Scandinavian imagination, hope painted the New World as a paradise; the proposed colony as a benefit to the persecuted, a security "to the honor of the wives and daughters" of those whom wars and bigotry had made fugitives; a blessing to the "common man;" to the "whole Protestant world." It may prove the advantage, said Gustavus in 1629, of "all oppressed Christendom."

But the reviving influence of the pope menaced Protestant Christendom with ruin. The insurrection against intellectual servitude, of which the Reformation was the great expression, appeared in danger of being suppressed, when, in May, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus resolved to invade Germany and vindicate the rights of conscience with his sword. The cherished purpose of colonization yielded for the moment, and the funds of the company were arbitrarily applied as resources in the war. It was a war of revolution; a struggle to secure German liberty by establishing religious equality; and the great events on which the destinies of Germany were suspended did but enlarge the design of Gustavus in America. At Nuremberg, on the sixteenth of October, 1632, only a few days before the battle of Lützen, where humanity won one of its most glorious victories and lost one of its ablest defenders, the enterprise, which still appeared to him as "the jewel of his kingdom," was recommended to the people of Germany.

In confirming the invitation to Germany, Oxenstiern, in April, 1633, declared himself to be but the executor of the wish of Gustavus. The same wise statesman, one of the great men of all time, the serene chancellor, who, in the busiest scenes, never took a care with him to his couch, renewed the patent of the company in June of that year, and in December, 1634, extended its benefits to Germany. The charter was soon confirmed by the deputies of the four upper circles at Frankfort. "The consequences" of this design, said Oxenstiern, "will be favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." And were they not so? The first permanent colonization of the banks of the Delaware is due to Oxenstiern.

Yet more than four years passed away before the design was carried into effect. We have seen Minuit, the early governor of New Netherland, forfeit his place amid the strifes of

faction. He now offered the benefit of his experience to the Swedes, and, leaving Sweden, probably near the close of the year 1637, he sailed for the bay of Delaware. Two vessels, the Key of Calmar and the Griffin, formed his whole fleet; the Swedish government supplied the emigrants with a religious teacher, with provisions, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. Early in the year 1638, the little company of Swedes and Finns arrived in the Delaware bay; the lands from the southern cape, which the emigrants from hyperborean regions named Paradise Point, to the falls in the river at Trenton, were purchased of the natives; and, near the mouth of Christiana creek, within the limits of the present state of Delaware, Christiana fort, so called from the child who was then queen of Sweden, was erected.

The records at Albany still preserve the paper in which Kieft, then director-general of New Netherland, claimed for the Dutch the country on the Delaware: their possession had long been guarded by forts, and had been sealed by the blood of their countrymen. But at that time the fame of Swedish arms protected the Swedish flag in the New World; and, while Banner and Torstenson were humbling Austria and Denmark, the Dutch did not proceed beyond a protest.

Meantime, tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange their farms in Europe for homes on the Delaware. At the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended, and, when the Dutch renewed their fort at Nassau, Printz, the then Swedish governor, in 1643, established his residence on the island of Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of hemlock logs, defended the island, and houses began to cluster in its neighborhood. Pennsylvania, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. New Sweden grew up on the bay and the river Delaware.

While the limits of New Netherland were narrowed by

competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the neighboring Algonkin tribes. Angry and even bloody quarrels had arisen between dishonest traders and savages maddened by intoxication. In 1640, the blameless settlement on Staten Island had, in consequence, been ruined by the undiscriminating vengeance of the tribes of New Jersey. An Indian boy who had been present when, years before, his uncle had been robbed and murdered, had vowed revenge, and, in 1641, when grown to man's estate, remembered and executed the vow of his childhood. A roving but fruitless expedition into the country south of the Hudson was the consequence. The Raritans were outlawed, and a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum was offered for every member of the tribe. The approach of danger brought with it the necessity of consulting the people, and the commons elected a body of twelve to assist the governor. De Vries, the head of the committee, urged the advantage of friendship with the natives. But the son of a chief, stung by the conviction of having been defrauded and robbed, aimed an unerring arrow at the first Hollander exposed to his fury. In 1642, a deputation of the river chieftains hastened to express their sorrow, and deplore the never-ending alternations of bloodshed. The murderer they could not deliver up; but, after the custom of the Saxons in the days of Alfred, of the Irish under Elizabeth, in exact correspondence with the usages of earliest Greece, they offered to purchase security for the murderer by a fine for blood. Two hundred fathom of the best wampum might console the grief of the widow. "You yourselves," they added, "are the cause of this evil; you ought not craze the young Indians with brandy. Your own people, when drunk, fight with knives and do foolish things; you cannot prevent mischief till you cease to sell strong drink to the Indian."

Kieft was inexorable, and demanded the murderer. In February, 1643, a small party of Mohawks from the vicinage of Fort Orange, armed with muskets, descended from their fastnesses, and claimed the natives round Manhattan as tributaries. At the approach of the formidable warriors of a braver Huron

race, the more numerous but cowering Algonkins crowded together in despair, begging assistance of the Dutch. Kieft, though warned that the ruin would light upon the Dutch themselves, seized the moment for an exterminating massacre. In the stillness of a dark winter's night, the soldiers at the fort, joined by freebooters from Dutch privateers, and led by a guide who knew every by-path and nook where the savages nestled, crossed the Hudson, for the purpose of destruction. The unsuspecting tribes could offer little resistance. Nearly a hundred perished in the carnage, which daybreak did not end.

Proud of his deed of treachery, Kieft greeted the returning troops with exultation. But his joy was short. No sooner was it known that the midnight attack had been made not by the Mohawks, but by the Dutch, than every Algonkin tribe round Manhattan took up arms with savage frenzy. From the shores of New Jersey to the borders of Connecticut not a bowery was safe. It was on this occasion that Anne Hutchinson perished with her family. "Mine eyes," says a witness, "saw the flames at their towns, and the frights and hurries of men, women, and children." The director was compelled to desire peace.

On the fifth of March, 1643, a convention of sixteen sachems assembled in the woods of Rockaway; and at daybreak De Vries and another, the two envoys from Manhattan, were conducted to the centre of the little senate. Their best orator addressed them, holding in one hand a bundle of small sticks. "When you first arrived on our shores you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people." Such were his opening words. Having put down one little stick, he proceeded: "The traders whom your first ships left on our shore, to traffic till their return, were cherished by us as the apple of our eye: we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood." He laid down another stick; and many more remained in his hand, each a memento of an unsatisfied wrong. "I know all," said De Vries, interrupting him, and inviting the chiefs to repair to

the fort. The speaking ceased; the chieftains gave costly presents to each of the whites: and then the party went by water to New Amsterdam. There peace was made; but the presents of Kieft were those of a niggard, and left in the Indians rankling memories. A month later, a similar covenant was made with the tribes on the river. But the young warriors among the red men were not pacified; one had lost a father or a mother; a second owed revenge for the death of a friend. "The presents we have received," said an older chief, "bear no proportion to our loss; the price of blood has not been paid;" and war was renewed.

The commander of the Dutch troops was John Underhill, a fugitive from New England, a veteran in Indian warfare, and one of the bravest men of his day. For licentiousness, he, in 1640, had been compelled, at Boston, in a great assembly, on lecture-day, during the session of the general court, dressed in the habit of a penitent, to stand upon a platform, and with sighs and tears and brokenness of heart and the aspect of sorrow, to beseech the compassion of the congregation. In the following year he removed to New Netherland, and now, with an army of one hundred and twenty men, became the protector of the Dutch settlements. After two years' war the Dutch were weary of danger; the Indians tired of being hunted like beasts. The Mohawks claimed a sovereignty over the Algonkins; their ambassador appeared at Manhattan to negotiate a peace; and, on the thirtieth of August, 1645, in front of Fort Amsterdam, according to Indian usage, under the open sky, in the presence of the sun and of the ocean, the sachems of New Jersey, of the River Indians, of the Mohicans, and of Long Island, acknowledging the chiefs of the Five Nations as witnesses and arbitrators, and having around them the director and council of New Netherland, with the commonalty of the Dutch, set their marks to a solemn treaty of peace. The joy of the colony broke forth into a general thanksgiving; but infamy attached to the name of Kieft, the author of the carnage; the emigrants desired to reject him as their governor; the West India company disclaimed his barbarous policy.

A better day dawned on New Netherland when the brave

and honest Stuyvesant, recently the vice-director of Curaçao, wounded in the West Indies, in the attack on St. Martin, a soldier of experience, a scholar of some learning, was promoted for his services, and, in May, 1647, entered on the government of the province. The superseded governor embarked for Europe; but the large and richly laden ship in which he sailed was dashed in pieces on the coast of Wales, and the man of blood was buried beneath the waves.

The interests of New Netherland required free trade; at first, the department of Amsterdam, which had alone borne the expense of the colony, would tolerate no interlopers. But the monopoly could not be enforced; and, in 1648, export duties were substituted. Manhattan began to prosper, when its merchants obtained freedom to follow the impulses of their own enterprise. The glorious destiny of the city was anticipated. "When your commerce becomes established, and your ships ride on every part of the ocean, throngs that look toward you with eager eyes will be allured to embark for your island:" this prophecy was, just before the end of 1652, addressed by the merchants of Amsterdam to the merchants of Manhattan. The island of New York was then chiefly divided among farmers; the large forests which covered the park and the adjacent region long remained a common pasture, where, for yet a quarter of a century, tanners could obtain bark, and boys chestnuts; and the soil was so little valued that Stuyvesant thought it no wrong to his employers to purchase of them at a small price an extensive bowery just beyond the coppices, among which browsed the goats and kine from the village.

A desire grew up for municipal liberties. The company which effected the early settlements of New Netherland introduced the self-perpetuating councils of the Netherlands. The emigrants were scattered on boweries or plantations; and, seeing the evils of living widely apart, they were advised, in 1643 and 1646, by the Dutch authorities, to gather into "villages, towns, and hamlets, as the English were in the habit of doing." In 1649, when the province was "in a very poor and most low condition," the commonalty of New Netherland, in a petition addressed to the "states general," prayed

for a suitable municipal government. They referred to the case of New England, saying "neither patroons, lords, nor princes are known there—only the people. Each town, no matter how small, hath its own court and jurisdiction, also a voice in the capitol, and elects its own officers." But the prayer was unheeded.

With its feeble population New Netherland could not protect its eastern boundary. Stuyvesant was instructed to preserve the House of Good Hope at Hartford; but, while he was claiming the country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen, there was danger that the New England men would stretch their settlements to the North river, intercept the navigation from Fort Orange, and monopolize the fur trade. The commercial corporation would not risk a war; the expense would impair its dividends. "War," they declared, "cannot in any event be for our advantage; the New England people are too powerful for us." No issue was left but by negotiation; Stuyvesant himself, in September, 1650, repaired as ambassador to Hartford, and was glad to conclude a provisional treaty, which allowed New Netherland to extend on Long Island as far as Oyster bay, on the main to the neighborhood of Greenwich. This intercolonial treaty was acceptable to the West India company, but was never ratified in England; its conditional approbation by the states general is the only state paper in which the Dutch government recognised the boundaries of the province on the Hudson. The West India company could never obtain a national guarantee of their possessions.

The war between the rival republics in Europe, from 1651 to 1654, did not extend to America; in England, Roger Williams delayed an armament against New Netherland. In 1652, in New England, the Narragansetts repelled an offer of alliance with the Dutch. The peace of 1654 brought but partial security. In that year the salt springs of Syracuse were discovered by the Jesuits, and in the two next the place was occupied by the French.

The provisionary compact left Connecticut in possession of a moiety of Long Island; the whole had often, but ineffectually, been claimed by Lord Stirling. Near the southern

frontier of New Belgium, on Delaware bay, the favor of Strafford had, in June, 1634, obtained for Sir Edward Ployden a patent for New Albion. The county never existed, except on parchment. The lord palatine attempted a settlement; but, for want of a pilot, he entered the Chesapeake; and his people were absorbed in the happy province of Virginia.

The Swedes and Dutch were left to contend for the Delaware. In the vicinity of the river the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the province of New Netherland was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. From motives of commercial security, the Dutch, in 1651, built Fort Casimir, on the site of Newcastle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. In 1654, aided by stratagem and superiority in numbers, Rysingh, the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison. The aggression was fatal to the only colony which Sweden had planted. That kingdom was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom Gustavus had educated had passed from the public service; Oxenstiern, after adorning retirement by the pursuits of philosophy, was no more; a youthful queen, eager for literary distinction and without capacity for government, had impaired the strength of the kingdom by nursing contending factions and then capriciously abdicating the throne. The Dutch company repeatedly commanded Stuyvesant to "revenge their wrong, to drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission;" and, in September, 1655, after they had maintained their separate existence for a little more than seventeen years, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware. One fort after another surrendered; to Rysingh honorable terms were conceded; the colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates; and the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of New Sweden, the colony that connects our country with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the gulf of Bothnia. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constituted, perhaps, more than one part in two

hundred of the population of our country in the early part of the nineteenth century. At the surrender, they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. As Protestants, they shared the religious impulse of the age. They reverenced the bonds of family and the purity of morals; their children, under every disadvantage of want of teachers and of Swedish books, were well instructed. With the natives they preserved peace. The love for their mother country, and an abiding sentiment of loyalty toward its sovereign, continued to distinguish them; at Stockholm, they remained for a century the objects of a disinterested and generous regard; in the New World, a part of their descendants still preserve their altar and their dwellings round the graves of their fathers.

The West India company desiring an ally on its southern frontier, the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, in 1656, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook; and afterward, under cessions from the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But the noble and right honorable lords, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralyzing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists absolute obedience. Emigrants, almost as they landed, and even soldiers of the garrison, fled from the dominion of a city to the liberties of Maryland and Virginia. The attempt to elope was punishable by death, yet scarce thirty families remained. In 1663, the West India company ceded to Amsterdam all that remained of its claims on Delaware river.

In September, 1655, during the attack of Stuyvesant on New Sweden, the Algonkins near Manhattan, in sixty-four canoes, appeared before New Amsterdam, and ravaged the adjacent country. His return restored confidence; the captives were ransomed; industry repaired its losses; New Netherland consoled the Dutch for the loss of Brazil. They were proud of its extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the great river of Canada, and the north-western wilderness. They sounded the channel of the Delaware, which was no longer shared with the Swedes; they counted with delight its many runs of water on which the beavers built their villages; and great travellers, as they ascended the deep stream, declared it one of the noblest rivers in the

world, with banks more inviting than the lands on the Amazon.

Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good-will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reproved by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily, the directors, sensitive to commercial honor, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the normal value of foreign coin, the measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labor by arbitrary rules, this also was condemned as unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts, the deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom;" and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans, he was chid for his bigotry. Did he, from hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers," imprison and afterward exile the blameless Bowne, "let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW NETHERLAND, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK.

PRIVATE worship was, therefore, allowed to every religion. The Jews found a home, liberty, and a burial-place on the island of Manhattan. The comers from Low Countries were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the persecuted and the wronged of many nations. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first-fruits of the Reformation, chosen chiefly from the Belgic provinces and England, from France, Germany, and Switzerland. A few of them were the offspring of those early inquirers who listened to Huss in the heart of Bohemia. The hurricane of persecution, which was to have swept Protestantism from the earth, did not spare the descendants of the mediæval Puritans who escaped from bloody conflicts in the south of France to Piedmont and the Italian Alps. The city of Amsterdam, in 1656, offered the fugitive Waldenses a free passage to America, and New Netherland welcomed those who came. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, their members were gladly received; and French Protestants so abounded that public documents were sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English.

In Holland "population was known to be the bulwark of every state;" the government of New Netherland asked for "farmers and laborers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and penury." A free passage was offered to mechanics, and troops of orphans were sent over. From the colony a trade in lumber grew up. The whale was pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry, planted; flocks of sheep as

well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, long imported from Holland, was manufactured near Fort Orange. "This happily situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our fatherland; should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall in a few years become a mighty people."

The African had his portion on the Hudson. The West India company, which sometimes transported captive red men to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea, in 1626 introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the trade in them. The city of Amsterdam owned shares in a slave-ship. That New York was not a slave state like Carolina is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

The large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherland the Puritan idea of popular freedom. There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. New England men planted on Long Island towns and New England liberties in a congregational way, with the consent and under the jurisdiction of the Dutch.

In the fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherland, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence; and, in 1642, twelve, then perhaps eight delegates from the Dutch towns, had mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. There was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people; but, without a teacher, they became convinced of the right of resistance. The brewers refused to pay an arbitrary excise: "Were we to yield," said they, in 1644, "we should offend the eight men, and the whole commonalty." The commander of Rensselaer Stein, in 1644,

raised a battery, that "the canker of freemen" might not enter the manor; but the patrons joined the free boors in resisting arbitrary taxation. As a compromise, in 1647, it was proposed that, from a double nomination by the villages, the governor should appoint tribunes, to act as magistrates in trivial cases, and, as agents for the towns, to give their opinion whenever they should be consulted. Town-meetings were prohibited.

Discontents increased. Van der Donck and others were charged with leaving nothing untried to abjure what they called the galling yoke of an arbitrary government. In 1650, a commission repaired to Holland for redress; as freeholders, they claimed the liberties essential to the prosperity of agriculture; as merchants, they protested against the intolerable burden of the customs; and, when redress was refused, tyranny was followed by its usual consequence, clandestine associations against oppression. The excess of complaint obtained for New Amsterdam, in 1652, a court of justice like that of the metropolis; but the municipal liberties included no political franchise; the sheriff was appointed by the governor; the two burgomasters and five schepens made a double nomination of their own successors, from which "the valiant director himself elected the board." The city had privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties, on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland. Citizenship was a commercial privilege, and not a political enfranchisement.

The persevering restlessness of the people led to a general assembly of two deputies from each village in New Netherland; an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention, of December, 1653, sprung from the will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country.

"The states general of the United Provinces," such was the remonstrance and petition, drafted by George Baxter, and unanimously adopted by the convention, "are our liege lords; we submit to the laws of the United Provinces; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the state, and not a

subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have at our own expense exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms—demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."

Stuyvesant answered: "Will you set your names to the visionary notions of an Englishman? Is there no one of the Netherlands' nation able to draft your petition? And your prayer is so extravagant, you might as well claim to send delegates to the assembly of their high mightinesses themselves.

1. "Laws will be made by the director and council. Evil manners produce good laws for their restraint; and therefore the laws of New Netherland are good.

2. "Shall the people elect their own officers? If this rule become our cynosure, and the election of magistrates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief; the smuggler for a smuggler; and fraud and vice will become privileged.

3. "The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects."

The delegates, in their rejoinder, appealed to their inalienable rights. "We do but design the general good of the country and the maintenance of freedom; nature permits all men to constitute society, and assemble for the protection of liberty and property." At this, Stuyvesant dissolved the assembly, commanding its members to separate on pain of arbitrary punishment. "We derive our authority from God and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects;" was his farewell message to them.

The West India company declared this resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose"—thus they wrote to Stuyvesant; "have no regard to the consent of the people;" "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent."

But the people continued to indulge the dream; taxes could not be collected; and the colonists listened with complacency to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherland; in the days of his son the design was revived; on the restoration of Charles II., the influences which framed the new navigation act would not endure a foreign jurisdiction at the mouth of the Hudson river.

In the negotiations of 1659 with the agent of Lord Baltimore, the envoy of New Netherland had firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to the southern bank of the Delaware, pleading purchase and colonization before the Maryland patent had been granted. The facts were conceded; but, in the pride of strength, it was answered that the same plea had not availed Clayborne, and should not avail the Dutch. On the restoration, Lord Baltimore renewed his claims to the country from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen by his agents in Amsterdam and in America, and they were presented to the states general of the United Provinces. The board of nineteen of the West India company resolved "to defend its possessions, even to the spilling of blood." Beekman, the Dutch lieutenant-governor on the Delaware, was faithful to his trust; the jurisdiction of his country was maintained. When young Baltimore, with his train, appeared at the mouth of the Brandywine, he was honored as a guest; but the pretensions of his father were triumphantly resisted. The Dutch and Swedes and Finns kept the country safely for William Penn.

The people of Connecticut not only increased their pretensions on Long Island, but, regardless of the provisionary treaty, claimed West Chester, and were steadily advancing toward the Hudson. To stay these encroachments, Stuyvesant, in 1663, repaired to Boston, and laid his complaints before the convention of the united colonies. His voyage was a confession of weakness; Massachusetts maintained a neutrality, and Connecticut demanded delay. An embassy to Hartford renewed the language of remonstrance with no better success. Did the Dutch assert their original grant

from the states general, it was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. Did they plead discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession, it was replied that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherland?" And the agents of Connecticut, with provoking indifference, replied: "We do not know."

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages round Esopus. In June, the rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste, many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive, and it was only on the approach of winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. "The Dutch," said the faithful warriors of the Five Nations, "are our brethren. With them we keep but one council fire; we are united by a covenant chain." Beyond these, they had no friends.

The province had no popular freedom, and therefore had no public spirit. In New England there were no poor; in New Netherland the poor were so numerous it was difficult to provide for their relief. The one easily supported schools everywhere, and Latin schools in the larger villages; in the other, a Latin school lingered with difficulty through two years, and was discontinued. In the one, the people, in the hour of danger, defended themselves; in the other, the burden of protection was thrown upon the company, which claimed to be the absolute sovereign.

In November, 1663, the necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly; the delegates of the villages made their appeal to the states general and to the West India company for defence. But the states general had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honor to the defence of the province; and the West India company would not risk its funds. A more full diet was held in April, 1664. Rumors of an intended invasion from England had reached the colony; and the popular representatives, having remonstrated against the want of all means of security, and foreseeing the necessity of submitting to the English, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant: "If you cannot shield us, to whom shall we turn?" The

governor, faithful to his trust, proposed, but in vain, the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been done in the fatherland." The established government could not but fall into contempt. In vain was the libeller of the magistrates fastened to a stake, with a bridle in his mouth. Stuyvesant confessed his fears to his employers: "To ask aid of the English villages would be inviting the Trojan horse within our walls;" "the company is cursed and scolded; the inhabitants declare that the Dutch have never had a right to the country." Half Long Island had revolted; the settlements on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had purchased of the Indians all the seaboard as far as the North river. Yet no cause for war on the United Provinces by England existed except English envy of their commerce.

In confidence of peace, the countrymen of Grotius were planning liberal councils; at home, they designed concessions to free trade; in the Mediterranean, to suppress the piracies of the Barbary states. At that time the English were engaging in an expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea; and the king, with equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut and the claims of the Netherlands, "by the most despotic instrument recorded in the colonial archives of England," on the twelfth of March, 1664, granted to the duke of York not only the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the territory from the Connecticut river to the shores of the Delaware. Under the conduct of Richard Nicolls, groom of the bed-chamber to the duke of York, the English squadron, which carried the commissioners for New England to Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts, and received on board the governor of Connecticut, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1664, cast anchor in Gravesend bay. Soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breukelen ferry.

In New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nicolls the cause of his presence, he replied by requiring of Stuy-

vesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. At the same time, Winthrop, of Connecticut, whose love of peace and candid affection for the Dutch nation had been acknowledged by the West India company, advised his personal friends to offer no resistance. "The surrender," Stuyvesant nobly answered, "would be reproved in the fatherland." The burgomasters, unable to obtain a copy of the letter from Nicolls, summoned not a town-meeting—that had been inconsistent with the manners of the Dutch—but the principal inhabitants to the public hall, where it was resolved that the community ought to know all that related to its welfare. On a more urgent demand for the letter from the English commander, Stuyvesant angrily tore it in pieces; and the burgomasters, instead of resisting the invasion, spent their time in framing a protest against the governor. On the third of September, a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nicolls declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" asked the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nicolls; "for to-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships-of-war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected in the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority by the mediation of the younger Winthrop and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and other inhabitants assembled in the town-hall, and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the eighth of September, after the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the navigation act was delayed for six months. During that period direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies, with free voices in all public affairs.

In a few days Fort Orange, then named Albany, from the Scottish title of the duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was renewed. Early in October the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated; and, for the first time, the Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. Our country obtained geographical unity.

On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the previous June the duke of York had assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. The dismemberment of New Netherland ensued on its surrender. In honor of Carteret, the severed territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of New Jersey. If to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a state, the duke of York gave political existence to a commonwealth; its character was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland.

In February, 1665, the royalists, who were become lords of the soil, sought to foster their province by most liberal concessions. Security of persons and property under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council, and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions from England; freedom of judgment, conscience, and worship to every peaceful citizen—these were the allurements to New Jersey. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised at a moderate quit-rent, not to be collected till 1670. The duke of York, now president of the African company, was the patron of the slave-trade; the proprietaries offered a bounty of seventy-five acres for the importation of each able emigrant, and, as in Carolina, the concession was interpreted to include the negro slave. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

The portion of New Netherland which thus gained popular

freedom was at that time almost a wilderness. The first occupation of Fort Nassau in Gloucester, and the grants to Godyn and Blommaert, above Cape May, had been of so little avail that, in 1634, not a single white man dwelt within the bay of the Delaware. The pioneers of Sir Edmund Ployden and the restless emigrants from New Haven had each been unsuccessful. Here and there, in the counties of Gloucester and Burlington, a Swedish farmer may have preserved his dwelling on the Jersey side of the river; and, before 1664, perhaps three Dutch families were established about Burlington; but as yet West New Jersey had not a hamlet. In East Jersey, of which the hills and the soil had been trodden by the mariners of Hudson, a trading station seems, in 1618, to have been occupied at Bergen. In December, 1651, Augustine Herman purchased, but hardly took possession of, the land that stretched from Newark bay to the west of Elizabethtown; while, in January, 1658, other purchasers obtained the large grant called Bergen, where the early station became a permanent settlement. Before the end of 1664, a few families of Quakers appear to have found a refuge south of Raritan bay.

More than a year earlier, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, solicited of the Dutch, and, as the records prove, obtained leave to establish on the banks of the Raritan and the Minisink their cherished institutions, and even their criminal jurisprudence. Soon after the surrender, a similar petition was, in 1664, renewed to the representative of the duke of York; and, as the parties, heedless of the former grant to Herman, succeeded in obtaining from the Indians a deed of an extensive territory on Newark bay, Nicolls, ignorant as yet of the transfer of New Jersey and having already granted land on Hackensack neck, encouraged emigration by ratifying the sale. The tract afterward became known as "the Elizabethtown purchase," and led to abundant litigation. In April, 1665, a further patent was issued, under the same authority, to William Goulding and others, for the region extending from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan. For a few months East New Jersey bore the name of Albania. Nicolls could boast that "on the new purchases from the

Indians three towns were beginning;" and, under grants from the Dutch and from the governor of New York, the coast from the old settlement of Bergen to Sandy Hook, along Newark bay, at Middletown, at Shrewsbury, was enlivened by humble plantations, that were soon to constitute a semicircle of villages.

In August, 1665, Philip Carteret appeared among the tenants of the scattered cabins, and was quietly received as the governor appointed for the colony by its proprietaries. In vain did Nicolls protest against the division of his province, and struggle to secure for his patron the territory which had been released in ignorance. The incipient people had no motive to second his complaints. A cluster of four houses, which, in honor of the kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was called Elizabethtown, rose into dignity as the capital of the province.

To New England, messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a shelter on the Raritan. Immediately, in 1666, an association of church members from the New Haven colony sailed into the Passaic, and, at the request of the governor, holding a council with the Hackensack tribe, themselves extinguished the Indian title to Newark. "With one heart, they resolved to carry on their spiritual and town affairs according to godly government;" to be ruled under their old laws by officers chosen from among themselves; and when, in May, 1668, a colonial legislative assembly was for the first time convened at Elizabethtown, the influence of Puritans transferred the chief features of the New England codes to the statute-book of New Jersey.

The land was accessible and productive; the temperate climate delighted by its salubrity; there was little danger from the neighboring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior; and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Everything was of good augury, till, in 1670, the quit-rents of a halfpenny an acre were seriously spoken of. But, on the subject of real estate in the New World, the Puritans differed from the lawyers widely,

asserting that the heathen, as lineal descendants of Noah, had a rightful claim to their lands. The Indian deeds, executed partly with the approbation of Nicolls, partly with the consent of Carteret himself, were therefore pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; the payment of quit-rents was refused; disputes were followed by confusion; and, in May, 1672, the disaffected colonists, obeying the impulse of independence, sent deputies to a constituent assembly at Elizabethtown. By that body Philip Carteret was displaced, and his office transferred to the young and frivolous James Carteret, a natural son of Sir George. The proprietary officers could make no resistance. William Pardon, who withheld the records, found safety only in flight. Following the advice of the council, after appointing John Berry as his deputy, Philip Carteret repaired to England, in search of new authority, while the colonists remained in the undisturbed possession of their farms.

The liberties of New Jersey did not extend beyond the Delaware; the settlements in New Netherland, on the opposite bank, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch round Lewistown and Newcastle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana Creek, at Chester, and near what is now Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. In 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force. The country was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the duke of York; and it still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland.

In respect to civil privileges, Delaware shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the hoped for concessions. Connecticut, in 1664, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favorable boundary on the main. The city of New York was incorporated, with a mayor who was to be named by the governor; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the

highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was sanctioned. Once, indeed, in March, 1665, a convention was held at Hempstead, chiefly for the purpose of settling the respective limits of the towns on Long Island. The rate for public charges was there perhaps agreed upon; and the deputies were induced to sign an extravagantly loyal address to the duke of York. But they were scorned by their constituents for their inconsiderate servility; and the governor, who never again allowed an assembly, was "reproached and vilified" for his arbitrary conduct. The Dutch patents for land were held to require renewal, and Nicolls gathered a harvest of fees from exacting new title-deeds.

Under Lord Lovelace, who, in May, 1667, succeeded him, the same system was more fully developed. In 1669, even the Swedes and Finns, the most patient of all emigrants, were roused to resistance. "The method for keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but how to discharge them:" such was the remedy proposed in the instructions from Lovelace to his southern subordinate, and carried into effect by an arbitrary tariff.

In New York, where the established powers of the towns favored the demand for freedom, eight villages, in October of 1669, united in remonstrating against the arbitrary government; they demanded the promised legislation by annual assemblies. But absolute government was the settled policy of the royal proprietary; and taxation for purposes of defence, by the decree of the governor, was the next experiment. In 1670, the towns of Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton, expressed themselves willing to contribute, if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies. The people of Huntington refused altogether; for, said they, "we are deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." The people of Jamaica declared the decree of the governor a disfranchisement, contrary to the laws of the English nation.

Flushing and Hempstead were equally resolute. The votes of the several towns were presented to the governor and council; they were censured as "scandalous, illegal, and seditious, alienating the peaceable from their duty and obedience," and, according to the established precedents of tyranny, were ordered to be publicly burnt before the town-house of New York.

It was easy to burn the votes which the yeomanry of Long Island had passed in their town-meetings. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of the duke of York was hated; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen, of Zealand, in July, 1673, approached Manhattan, the city surrendered within four hours; the people of New Jersey made no resistance; and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example. The Mohawk chiefs congratulated their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French come down from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them;" and the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands.

The nation of merchants and manufacturers had just achieved its independence of Spain and given to the Protestant world the leading example of a federal republic, when its mariners took possession of the Hudson. The country was now reconquered, at a time when the provinces, single-handed, were again struggling for existence against yet more powerful antagonists. France, supported by the bishops of Munster and Cologne, had succeeded in involving England in a conspiracy for the political destruction of England's commercial rival. Charles II. had begun hostilities as a pirate; and Louis XIV. did not disguise the purpose of conquest. In 1673, with armies amounting to two hundred thousand men, to which the Netherlands could oppose only twenty thousand, the French monarch invaded the republic; and, within a month, it was exposed to the same desperate dangers which had been encountered a century be-

fore; while the English fleet, hovering off the coast, endeavored to land English troops in the heart of the wealthiest of the provinces. The annals of the human race record but few instances where moral power has so successfully defied every disparity of force, and repelled desperate odds by invincible heroism. At sea, where greatly superior numbers were on the side of the allied fleets of France and England, the untiring courage of the Dutch would not consent to be defeated. On land, the dikes were broken up; the country drowned; the son of Grotius, suppressing anger at the ignominious proposals of the French, protracted negotiations till the rising waters could form a wide and impassable moat round the cities. At Groningen the whole population, without regard to sex, children even, labored on the fortifications; and fear was not permitted even to a woman. Arlington, one of the joint proprietaries of Virginia, advised William of Orange to seek advancement by yielding to England. "My country," replied the young man, "trusts in me; I will not sacrifice it to my interests, but, if need be, die with it in the last ditch." The landing of British troops in Holland could be prevented only by three naval engagements. De Ruyter and the younger Tromp had been bitter enemies; the latter had been disgraced on the accusation of the former; political animosities had increased the feud. At the battle of Soulsbay, in June, 1673, where the Dutch with fifty-two ships of the line engaged an enemy with eighty, De Ruyter was successful in his first manœuvres, while the extraordinary ardor of Tromp plunged headlong into dangers which he could not overcome; the frank and true-hearted De Ruyter checked himself in the career of victory, and turned to the relief of his rival. "Oh, there comes grandfather to the rescue," shouted Tromp, in an ecstasy; "I never will desert him so long as I breathe." The issue of the day was uncertain. In the second battle, the advantage was with the Dutch. About three weeks after the conquest of New Netherland, the last and most terrible conflict took place near the Helder. The enthusiasm of the Dutch mariners dared almost infinite deeds of valor; as the noise of the artillery boomed along the low coast of Holland, the churches on the shore were thronged

with suppliants, begging victory for the right cause and their country. The contest raged, and was exhausted, and was again renewed with unexampled fury. But victory was with De Ruyter and the younger Tromp. The British fleet retreated, and was pursued; the coasts of Holland were protected.

For more than a century no other naval combat was fought between Netherlands and England. The English parliament, condemning the war, refused supplies; Prussia and Austria were alarmed; Spain openly threatened; and Charles II., in 1674, consented to treaties. All conquests were to be restored; and Holland, which had been the first to claim the enfranchisement of the oceans, against its present interests established by compact the rights of neutral flags. In a work dedicated to all the princes and nations of Christendom, and addressed to the common intelligence of the civilized world, the admirable Grotius, contending that right and wrong are not the evanescent expressions of fluctuating opinions, but are endowed with an immortality of their own, had established the freedom of the seas on the imperishable foundation of public justice. Ideas once generated live forever. With the recognition of maritime liberty, Holland disappears from our history; when, after the lapse of more than a century, this principle comes into jeopardy, Holland, the mother of four of our states, will rise up as our ally, bequeathing to the new federal republic the defence of commercial freedom which she had vindicated against Spain, and for which we shall see her prosperity fall a victim to England.

At the final transfer of New Netherland to England, on the last day of October, 1674, after a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, the brother of Charles II. resumed the possession of New York, and Carteret appeared once more as proprietary of the eastern moiety of New Jersey; but the banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had learned the right principle of public law from the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE nobler instincts of humanity are the same in every age and in every breast. The exalted hopes that have dignified former generations of men will be renewed as long as the race shall survive. A spiritual unity binds together the members of the human family; and every heart contains an incorruptible seed, capable of springing up and producing all that man can know of God and duty and the soul. An inward voice, uncreated by schools, independent of refinement, opens to the unlettered hind, not less than to the polished scholar, a sure pathway to immortal truth.

This is the faith of the people called QUAKERS. A moral principle is tested by the attempt to reduce it to practice.

The history of European civilization is the history of the gradual enfranchisement of classes of society. In every European code, the ages of feudal influence, of mercantile ambition, of the enfranchisement of the country people, appear distinctly in succession.

In the fourteenth century, the peasantry of England, conducted by tilers and carters and ploughmen, demanded of a youthful king deliverance from the bondage and burdens of feudal oppression; in the fifteenth, the last traces of villeinage were wiped away; in the sixteenth, the noblest ideas of human destiny, awakening in the common mind, became the central points round which plebeian sects were gathered; in the seventeenth, the men that turned the battle on Marston Moor were mechanics and yeomen and the sons of yeomen, fighting, as they believed, for their own cause.

Political liberties had been followed by the emancipation

of knowledge. The merchants always tolerated or favored the pursuits of science; Galileo would have been safe at Venice, and honored at Amsterdam or London. The method of free inquiry, applied to chemistry, had invented gunpowder, and changed the manners of the feudal aristocracy; applied to geography, had discovered a hemisphere, and, circumnavigating the globe, made the theatre of commerce wide as the world; applied to the mechanical process of multiplying books, had, in Protestant countries, brought the New Testament, in the vulgar tongue, within the reach of every class; applied to the rights of persons and property, had, for the English, built up a system of common law and given securities to liberty.

On the continent of Europe, Descartes had already applied the method of observation and free inquiry to the study of morals and the mind; in England, Bacon hardly proceeded beyond the bounds of natural philosophy. Freedom, as applied to morals, was cherished in England among the people, and therefore had its development in religion. At the Reformation, the inferior clergy, rising against Rome and against domestic tyranny, had a common faith and common political cause with the people. A body of the yeomanry, becoming Independents, planted Plymouth colony. A part of the gentry espoused Calvinism, and fled to Massachusetts. The popular movement of intellectual liberty was measured by advances toward the liberty of preaching and the liberty of conscience.

The moment was arrived for the plebeian mind to escape from hereditary prejudices; when the inquisitiveness of Bacon, the enthusiasm of Wycliffe, and the politics of Wat Tyler, were to gain the highest unity in a sect; when a popular, and, therefore, in that age, a religious party, building upon a divine principle, should demand freedom of thought, purity of morals, and universal enfranchisement.

The sect had its birth in a period when in England reform was invading the church, subverting the throne, and repealing the privileges of feudalism; when Presbyterians were quarrelling with Anabaptists and Independents, and all the three with the Roman Catholics and the English church.

The sect could arise only among the common people, who had everything to gain by its success, and the least to hazard by its failure. The privileged classes had no motive to develop a principle before which their privileges would crumble. "Poor mechanics," said William Penn, "are wont to be God's great ambassadors to mankind." "He hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men," wrote the accomplished Barclay, "to dispense the more full glad tidings reserved for our age." It was the comfort of the Quakers that they received the truth from a simple sort of people, unmixed with the learning of schools; and, almost for the first time in the history of the world, a plebeian sect proceeded to that complete enfranchisement of mind which Socrates had explained to the young men of Athens.

The simplicity of truth was restored by humble instruments, and its first messenger was of low degree. George Fox, the son of "righteous Christopher," a Leicestershire weaver, by his mother descended from the stock of the martyrs, distinguished even in boyhood by frank inflexibility and deep religious feeling, became in early life an apprentice to a Nottingham shoemaker who was a landholder, and, like David, and Tamerlane, and Sixtus V., was set by his employer to watch sheep. The occupation was grateful to him for its freedom, innocency, and solitude; and the years of earliest youth passed away in prayer and reading the Bible, frequent fasts, and the reveries of contemplative devotion. His boyish spirit yearned after excellence; and he was haunted by a vague desire of an unknown, illimitable good. In 1644, the most stormy period of the English democratic revolution, just as the Independents were beginning to make head successfully against the Presbyterians, when the impending ruin of royalty and the hierarchy made republicanism the doctrine of a party, and inspiration the faith of fanatics, Fox, as he revolved the question of human destiny, was agitated even to despair. The melancholy to which youth inclines heightened his anguish; abandoning his flocks and his shoemaker's bench, he nourished his inexplicable grief by retired meditations, and, often walking solitary in the chase, sought for a vision of God.

He questioned his life; but his blameless life offered nothing for remorse. He went to many "priests" for comfort, but found no comfort from them. His wretchedness urged him to visit London; and there the religious feuds convinced him that the great professors were dark. He returned to the country, where some advised him to marry, others to join Cromwell's army; but his restless spirit drove him into the fields, where he walked many nights long by himself, in misery too great to be declared. Yet at times a ray of heavenly joy beamed upon his soul.

He had been bred in the church of England. One day, in 1646, the thought arose in his mind that a man might be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, and yet be unable to explain the great problem of existence. Again he reflected that God lives not in temples of brick and stone, but in the hearts of the living; and from the parish priest and the parish church he turned to the dissenters. But among them he found the most experienced unable to reach his condition.

Neither could the pursuit of wealth detain his mind from its struggle for fixed truth. His desires were those which wealth could not satisfy. A king's diet, palace, and attendance, had been to him as nothing. Rejecting "the changeable ways of religious" sects, the "brittle notions" and airy theories of philosophy, he longed for "unchangeable truth," a firm foundation of morals in the soul. His inquiring mind was gently led along to principles of boundless and eternal love, till light dawned within him; and, though the world was rocked by tempests of opinion, his secret and as yet unconscious belief was stayed by the anchor of hope.

George Fox had already risen above the prejudices of sects. The greatest danger remained. Liberty may be pushed to lawlessness, and freedom is the fork in the road where the by-way leads to infidelity. One morning, in 1648, as Fox sat silently by the fire, a cloud came over him; a baser instinct seemed to say: "All things come by nature;" and the elements and the stars oppressed his imagination with a vision of pantheism. But, as he continued musing, a true voice arose within him, and said: "There is a living God." At once his soul enjoyed the sweetness of repose; and he came

up in spirit from the agony of doubt into the presence of truth. He thirsted for a reform in every branch of learning. The physician should quit the strife of words, and solve the appearances of nature by an intimate study of the higher laws of being. The priests, rejecting authority and giving up the trade in knowledge, should seek oracles of truth in the purity of conscience. The lawyers, abandoning their chicanery, should tell their clients plainly that he who wrongs his neighbor does a wrong to himself. The heavenly minded man was become a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making.

In this way did George Fox arrive at the conclusion that not the universities, not the Roman see, not the English church, not dissenters, not the whole outward world, can lead to a fixed rule of morality. The law in the heart must be received without prejudice, cherished without mixture, and obeyed without fear.

Confident that his name was written in the Lamb's book of life, he was borne, by an irrepressible impulse, to go forth into the briery and brambly world, and publish the glorious principles which had rescued him from despair and infidelity, and given him a clear perception of the immutable distinctions between right and wrong. At the very crisis when the house of commons was abolishing monarchy and the peerage, about two years and a half from the day when Cromwell went on his knees to kiss the hand of the young boy who was duke of York, the Lord, who sent George Fox into the world, forbade him to put off his hat to any, high or low; and he was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, to great or small. The sound of the church bell in Nottingham, the home of his boyhood, offended his heart; like Milton and Roger Williams, his soul abhorred the hireling ministry of diviners for money; and, on the morning of a first-day, he was moved to go to the great steeple-house and cry against the idol. "When I came there," says Fox, "the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in the pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter: 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy;' and told the people this was

the scriptures. Now, the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold; but was made to cry out: 'Oh, no! it is not the scriptures, it is the Spirit.'"

The principle contained a moral revolution. If it flattered self-love and fed enthusiasm, it established absolute freedom of mind, trod every idolatry under foot, and entered the strongest protest against the forms of a hierarchy. It was the principle for which Socrates died and Plato suffered; and, now that Fox went forth to proclaim it among the people, he was everywhere resisted with angry vehemence, and priests and professors, magistrates and people, swelled like the raging waves of the sea. At the Lancaster sessions, forty priests appeared against him at once. To the ambitious Presbyterians, it seemed as if hell were broke loose; and Fox, imprisoned and threatened with the gallows, still rebuked their bitterness as "exceeding rude and devilish," resisting and overcoming pride with unbending stubbornness. Possessed of great ideas which he could not trace to their origin, a mystery to himself, he believed himself the ward of Providence, and his doctrine the spontaneous expression of irresistible, intuitive truth. Nothing could daunt his enthusiasm. Cast into jail among felons, he claimed of the public tribunals a release only to continue his exertions; and, as he rode about the country, the seed of God sparkled about him like innumerable sparks of fire. If cruelly beaten, or set in the stocks, or ridiculed as mad, he none the less proclaimed the oracles of the voice within him, and rapidly gained adherents among the country people. Driven from the church, he spoke in the open air; forced from the humble ale-house, he slept without fear under a haystack, or watched among the furze. Crowds gathered, like flocks of pigeons, to hear him. His frame in prayer is described as the most awful, living, and reverent ever felt or seen; and his vigorous understanding, disciplined by clear convictions to natural dialectics, made him powerful in the public discussions to which he defied the world. A true witness, writing from knowledge and not report, declares that, by night and by day, by sea and by land, in every emergency he was always in his place, and always a match for every service and occasion. By degrees

"the hypocrites" feared to dispute with him; and the priests trembled and "scud" as he drew near; "so that it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them: 'The man in leathern breeches is come.'"

The converts to his doctrine were chiefly among the yeomanry; and Quakers were compared to the butterflies that live in fells. It is the boast of Barclay that the simplicity of truth was restored by weak instruments, and Penn exults that the message came without suspicion of human wisdom. The strong perception of speculative truth imparted to illiterate mechanics energy and unity of mind and character; with unconscious sagacity they spontaneously developed the system of moral truth, which, as they believed, exists as an incorruptible seed in every soul.

Every human being was embraced within the sphere of their benevolence. George Fox did not fail, by letter, to catechise Innocent XI. Ploughmen and milkmaids, becoming itinerant preachers, sounded the alarm to the consciences of Puritans and Cavaliers, of the Pope and the Grand Turk, of the negro and the savage. The plans of the Quakers designed no less than the establishment of a universal religion; their apostles made their way to Rome and Jerusalem, to New England and Egypt; and some were even moved to go toward China and Japan, and in search of the unknown realms of Prester John.

The rise of the people called Quakers marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright. To the masses in that age all reflection on politics and morals presented itself under a theological form. The Quaker doctrine is philosophy, summoned from the cloister, the college, and the saloon, and planted among the most despised of the people.

As poetry is older than critics, so philosophy is older than metaphysicians. The mysterious question of the purpose of our being is always before us and within us; and the child, as it begins to prattle, makes inquiries which learning cannot solve. The method of the solution adopted by the Quakers was the natural consequence of their origin. The mind of George Fox had the highest systematic sagacity; and his

doctrine, developed and rendered illustrious by Barclay and Penn, was distinguished by its simplicity and unity. The Quaker has but one word, THE INNER LIGHT, the voice of God in the soul. That light is a reality, and therefore in its freedom the highest revelation of truth; it is kindred with the Spirit of God, and therefore in its purity should be listened to as the guide to virtue; it shines in every man's breast, and therefore joins the whole human race in the unity of equal rights. Intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement — these three points include the whole of Quakerism, as far as it belongs to civil history.

Quakerism rests on the reality of the Inner Light. The revelation of truth is immediate. It springs neither from tradition nor from the senses, but from the mind. No man comes to the knowledge of God but by the Spirit. "Each person," says Penn, "knows God from an infallible demonstration in himself, and not on the slender grounds of men's lo here interpretations, or lo there." "The instinct of a Deity is so natural to man that he can no more be without it, and be, than he can be without the most essential part of himself." As the eye opens, light enters; and the mind, as it looks in upon itself, receives moral truth by intuition. Others have sought wisdom by consulting the outward world, and, confounding consciousness with reflection, have trusted solely to the senses for the materials of thought; the Quaker, placing no dependence on the world of senses, calls the soul home from its wanderings through the mazes of tradition and the wonders of the visible universe, bidding the vagrant sit down by its own fires to read the divine inscription on the heart. "Some seek truth in books, some in learned men, but what they seek for is in themselves." "Man is an epitome of the world, and, to be learned in it, we have only to read ourselves well." Tradition cannot enjoin a ceremony, still less establish a doctrine; historical faith is as the old heavens that are to be wrapped up like a scroll.

The constant standard of truth and goodness, says William Penn, is God in the conscience; and to restrain liberty of conscience is therefore an invasion of the divine prerogative. It robs man of the use of the instinct of a Deity, and prevents

the progress of society; or rather, as the beneficent course of Providence cannot be checked, it is in men of the present generation but knotting a whip-cord to lash their own posterity.

But the Quaker asked for conscience more than security against penal legislation. He denied the value of all learning, except that which the mind appropriates by its own intelligence. The lessons of tradition were no better than the prating of a parrot, and letter learning may be hurtful as well as helpful. When the mind is not free, the devil can accompany the zealot to his prayers and the doctor to his study. The soul is a living fountain of immortal truth; but a college is in itself no better than a cistern, in which water may stagnate. The pedant may plume himself in the belief that erudition is wisdom; but the waters of life well up from the soul in spontaneous freedom; and the unlearned artisan need not fear to rebuke the proudest rabbis of the university.

The Quaker equally claimed the emancipation of conscience from the terrors of superstition. He did not waken devotion by appeals to fear. He could not grow pale from dread of apparitions, or, like Grotius, establish his faith by the testimony of ghosts; and, in an age when the English courts punished witchcraft with death, he rejected the delusion as having no warrant in the free experience of the soul. To him no spirit was created evil; the world began with innocency; and, as God blessed the works of his hands, their natures and harmony magnified their Creator. God made no devil; for all that he made was good.

The Quaker was warned against the delusions of self-love. His enemies sneered at his idol as a delirious will-o'-the-wisp, that claimed a heavenly descent for the offspring of earthly passions; but Fox and Barclay and Penn as earnestly denounced "the idolatry which hugs its own conceptions," mistaking the whimseys of a feverish brain for the calm revelations of truth. "How shall I know," asks Penn, "that a man does not obtrude his own sense upon us as the infallible Spirit?" And he answers, "By the same Spirit." The Spirit witnesseth to our spirit. The Quaker repudiates the errors which the bigotry of sects, or the zeal of selfishness, or the

delusion of the senses, has engrafted upon the unchanging principles of morals; and accepting intelligence wherever it emerges from the collision of parties and the strife in the world of opinions, he gathers together the universal truths which of necessity constitute the common creed of mankind. Quakerism "is a most rational system." Judgment is to be made not from the rash and partial mind, but from the eternal light that never errs. The divine revelation is universal, and compels assent. The jarring reasonings of individuals have filled the world with controversies and debates; the one true light pleads its excellency in every breast. Neither may the divine revelation be confounded with individual conscience; for the conscience of the individual follows judgment, and may be warped by self-love and debauched by lust. The Turk has no remorse for sensual indulgence, because he has defiled his judgment with a false opinion. The papist, if he eat flesh in Lent, is reproved by the inward monitor; for that monitor is blinded by a false belief. The true light is therefore not the reason of the individual, nor the conscience of the individual; it is the light of universal reason; the voice of universal conscience, "manifesting its own verity, in that it is confirmed and established by the experience of all men." "It constrains even its adversaries to plead for it." "It never contradicts sound reason," and is the noblest and most certain rule; for "the divine revelation is so evident and clear of itself, that by its own evidence and clearness it irresistibly forces the well-disposed understanding to assent."

The Bible was the religion of Protestants; had the Quaker a better guide? The Quaker believes that the Spirit is the guide which leads into all truth; and reads the scriptures with delight, but not with idolatry. It is his own soul which bears the valid witness that they are true. The letter is not the Spirit; the Bible is not religion, but a record of religion. "The scriptures"—such are Barclay's words—"are a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself."

Far from rejecting Christianity, the Quaker insisted that he alone held it in its primitive simplicity. The skeptic forever vibrated between opinions; the Quaker was fixed even to dogmatism. The scoffer pushed freedom to indifference; the

Quaker circumscribed freedom by obedience to truth. George Fox and Voltaire both protested against priestcraft; Voltaire in behalf of the senses, Fox in behalf of the soul. To the Quakers, Christianity is freedom. And they loved to remember that the patriarchs were graziers, that the prophets were mechanics and shepherds, that John Baptist, the greatest of envoys, was clad in a rough garment of camel's hair. To them there was joy in the thought that the brightest image of divinity on earth had been born in a manger, had been reared under the roof of a carpenter, had been content for himself and his guests with no greater luxury than barley loaves and fishes, and that the messengers of his choice had been rustics like themselves. Nor were they embarrassed by knotty points of theology. Was the Trinity defended or denied by minute criticism on various readings, they avoided the use of the word; but the idea of God with us, the union of Deity with humanity, was to the Quaker the most sublime symbol of man's enfranchisement.

As a consequence of this faith, every avenue to truth was to be kept open. "Christ came not to extinguish, but to improve the heathen knowledge." "The difference between the philosophers of Greece and the Christian Quaker is rather in manifestation than in nature." He cries "Stand" to every thought that knocks for entrance, but welcomes it as a friend if it gives the watchword. Happy in the wonderful bond which admitted him to a communion with all the sons of light, of every nation and age, he rejected with scorn the school of Epicurus; he had no sympathy with the follies of the skeptics; and esteemed even the mind of Aristotle too much bent upon the outward world. But Aristotle himself, in so far as he grounds philosophy on virtue and self-denial, and all contemplative sages, orators and philosophers, statesmen and divines, were gathered as a cloud of witnesses to the same unchanging truth. "The Inner Light," said Penn, "is the domestic God of Pythagoras." The voice in the breast of George Fox, as he kept sheep on the hills of Nottingham, is the spirit which had been the good genius of Socrates. Above all, the Christian Quaker delighted in "the divinely contemplative Plato," the "famous doctor of gentile theol-

ogy," and recognised the identity of the Inner Light with the divine principle of Plotinus. Quakerism is as old as humanity.

The Inner Light is to the Quaker not only the revelation of truth, but the guide of life and the oracle of duty. The doctrine of disinterested virtue—the doctrine for which Guyon was persecuted and Fénelon disgraced, the doctrine which tyrants condemn as rebellion, and priests as heresy—was cherished by the Quaker as the foundation of morality. Self-denial he enforced with ascetic severity, yet never with ascetic superstition. He might array himself fantastically to express a truth by an apparent symbol, but he never wore sackcloth as an anchorite. "Thoughts of death and hell to keep out sin were to him no better than fig-leaves." He would obey the imperative dictate of truth even though the fires of hell were quenched. Virtue is happiness; heaven is with her always.

The Quakers knew no superstitious vows of celibacy; they favored no nunneries, monasteries, "or religious bedlams;" but they demanded purity of life as essential to the welfare of society, and founded the institution of marriage on permanent affection, not on transient passion. Their matches, they were wont to say, are registered in heaven. Has a recent school of philosophy discovered in wars and pestilence, in vices and poverty, salutary checks on population? The Quaker, confident of the supremacy of mind, feared no evil, though plagues and war should cease, and vice and poverty be banished by intelligent culture. Despotism favors the liberty of the senses; and popular freedom rests on sanctity of morals. To the Quaker, licentiousness is the greatest bane of good order and good government.

The Quaker revered principles, not men; truth, not power; and therefore could not become the tool of ambition. "They are a people," said Cromwell, "whom I cannot win with gifts, honors, offices, or places." Still less was the Quaker a slave to avarice. To him the love of money for money's sake was the basest of passions, and the rage of indefinite accumulation was "oppression to the poor, compelling those who have little to drudge like slaves." "That the

sweat and tedious labor of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men, that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in inordinate severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the appetites of the twentieth, is far from the appointment of the great governor of the world." It is best the people be neither rich nor poor; for riches bring luxury, and luxury tyranny.

The system aimed at a reformation of society, but only by means addressed to conscience. It demanded that children should be brought up, not in the pride of caste, still less by methods of violence. Life should never be taken for an offence against property, nor the person imprisoned for debt. And the same train of reasoning led to a protest against war. The Quaker, for himself, renounced the use of the sword; but, aware that the vices of society might entail danger on a nation not imbued with his principles, he did not absolutely deny to others the right of defence, while he hoped from the progress of civilization a universal and enduring peace.

The Quaker regarded "the substance of things," and broke up ceremonies as the nests of superstition. Every Protestant refuses the rosary and the censer; the Quaker rejects common prayer, and his adoration of God is the free language of his soul. He remembers the sufferings of divine philanthropy, but uses neither wafer nor cup. He trains up his children to fear God, but never sprinkles them with baptismal water. He ceases from labor on the first day of the week, for the ease of creation, and not from reverence for a holy day. The Quaker is a pilgrim on earth, and life is the ship that bears him to the haven; he mourns in his mind for the departure of friends by respecting their advice, taking care of their children, and loving those that they loved; and this seems better than outward emblems of sorrowing. His words are always freighted with innocence and truth; God, the searcher of hearts, is the witness to his sincerity; but kissing a book or lifting a hand is a vanity, and the sense of duty cannot be increased by an imprecation.

The Quaker distrusts the fine arts, they are so easily perverted to the purposes of superstition and the delight of the

senses; yet, when they are allied with virtue, and express the nobler sentiments, they are very sweet and refreshing. The comedy where, of old, Aristophanes excited the Athenians to hate Socrates, and where the profligate gallants of the court of Charles II. assembled to hear the drollery of Nell Gwyn heap ridicule on the Quakers, was condemned. But innocent diversions, the delights of rural life, the pursuits of science, the study of history, would not interfere with aspirations after God. For apparel, the Quaker dresses soberly, according to his condition and education; far from prescribing an unchanging fashion, he holds it "no vanity to use what the country naturally produces," but he reproves that extravagance which "all sober men of all sorts readily grant to be evil."

Like vanities of dress, the artifices of rhetoric were despised. Truth, it was said, is beautiful enough in plain clothes; and Penn, who was able to write exceedingly well, often forgot that style is the gossamer on which the seeds of truth float through the world.

The Quakers employ for the propagation of truth no weapons but those of mind. They distributed tracts; but they would not sustain their doctrine by a hireling ministry, saying: "A man thou hast corrupted to thy interests will never be faithful to them;" and an established church seemed "a cage for unclean birds." When a great high-priest, who was a doctor, had finished preaching from the words, "Ho every one that thirsteth, come buy without money," George Fox "was moved of the Lord to say to him, 'Come down, thou deceiver! Dost thou bid people come to the waters of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them?' The Spirit is a free teacher." The Quaker never would pay tithes.

To persecute, he esteemed a confession of a bad cause; for the design that is of God has confidence in itself, and knows that any other will vanish. "Your cruelties are a confirmation that truth is not on your side," was the remonstrance of a woman of Aberdeen to the magistrates who had imprisoned her husband.

In like manner, the Quaker never employed force to effect a social revolution or reform, but, refusing obedience to wrong,

deprived tyranny of its instruments. The Quaker's loyalty, said the earl of Arrol at Aberdeen, is a qualified loyalty; it smells of rebellion: to which Alexander Skein, brother to a subsequent governor of West New Jersey, calmly answered: "I understand not loyalty that is not qualified with the fear of God rather than of man." The Quaker bore witness against blind obedience not less than against will worship. He never consented to the slightest compromise of the right of free discussion. Wherever there was evil and oppression, he claimed the right to be present with a remonstrance. He delivered his opinions freely before Cromwell and Charles II., in face of the gallows in New England, in the streets of London, before the English commons. This was his method of resistance. Algernon Sidney, like Brutus, would have plunged a dagger into the breast of a tyrant; the Quaker labored incessantly to advance reform by enlightening the public conscience. Any other method of revolution he believed an impossibility. Government—such was his belief—will always be as the people are; and a people imbued with the love of liberty create the irresistible necessity of a free government. He sought no revolution but that which followed as the consequence of the public intelligence. Such revolutions were inevitable. "Though men consider it not, the Lord rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men." Any other revolution would be transient. The Quakers submitted to the restoration of Charles II. as the best arrangement for the crisis, confident that time and truth would lead to a happier issue. "The best frame, in ill hands, can do nothing that is great and good. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion imparted to them; they depend on men rather than men on government. Let men be good, the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it." Even with absolute power, an Antonine or an Alfred could not make bricks without straw, nor the sword do more than substitute one tyranny for another.

No Quaker book has a trace of skepticism on man's capacity for progress. For him the moral power of ideas is constantly effecting improvement in society. By an honest profession of truth, the humblest person, if single-minded

and firm, "can shake all the country for ten miles round." The Inner Light is an invincible power. It is a power which never changes; such was the message of Fox to the pope, the kings, and nobles of all sorts; it fathoms the world, and throws down that which is contrary to it. It quenches fire; it daunts wild beasts; it turns aside the edge of the sword; it outfaces instruments of cruelty; it converts executioners. It was remembered with exultation that the enfranchisements of Christianity were the result of faith, and not of the sword; and that truth in its simplicity, radiating from the foot of the cross, has filled a world of sensualists with astonishment, overthrown their altars, discredited their oracles, infused itself into the soul of the multitude, invaded the court, risen superior to armies, and led magistrates and priests, statesmen and generals, in its train, as the trophies of its strength exerted in freedom.

Thus the Quaker was cheered by a firm belief in the progress of society. Even Aristotle, so many centuries ago, recognised the upward tendency in human affairs; a Jewish contemporary of Barclay made note of the tendency toward popular power; George Fox perceived that the Lord's hand was against kings; and one day, on the hills of Yorkshire, he had a vision that he was but beginning the glorious work of God in the earth; that his followers would in time become as numerous as motes in the sunbeams; and that the party of humanity would gather the whole human race in one sheepfold. Neither art, wisdom, nor violence, said Barclay, conscious of the vitality of truth, shall quench the little spark that hath appeared. The atheist—such was the common opinion of the Quakers—the atheist alone denies progress, and says in his heart: All things continue as they were in the beginning.

If from the rules of private morality we turn to political institutions, here also the principle of the Quaker is the Inner Light. He acquiesces in any established government which shall build its laws upon the declarations of "universal reason." But government is a part of his religion; and the religion that declares "every man enlightened by the divine light" establishes government on universal and equal enfranchisement.

"Not one of mankind," says Penn, "is exempted from this illumination." "God discovers himself to every man." He is in every breast, in the ignorant drudge as well as in Locke or Leibnitz. Every moral truth exists in every man's and woman's heart as an incorruptible seed; the ground may be barren, but the seed is certainly there. Every man is a little sovereign to himself. Freedom is as old as reason itself, which is given to all, constant and eternal, the same to all nations. The Quaker is no materialist; truth and conscience are not one thing at Rome, and another at Athens; they cannot be abrogated by senate or people. Freedom and the right of property were in the world before Protestantism; they came not with Luther; they do not vanish with Calvin; they are the common privilege of mankind.

The Bible enfranchises those only to whom it is carried; Christianity, those only to whom it is made known; the creed of a sect, those only within its narrow pale. The Quaker, resting his system on the Inner Light, redeems the race. Of those who believe in the necessity of faith in an outward religion, some have cherished the mild superstition that, in the hour of dissolution, an angel is sent from heaven "to manifest the doctrine of Christ's passion;" the Quaker believes that the heavenly messenger is always present in the breast of every man, ready to counsel the willing listener.

Man is equal to his fellow-man. No class can, "by long apprenticeship" or a prelate's breath, by wearing black or shaving the crown, obtain a monopoly of moral truth. There is no distinction of clergy and laity.

The Inner Light sheds its blessings on the whole human race; it knows no distinction of sex. It redeems woman by the dignity of her moral nature, and claims for her the equal culture and free exercise of her endowments. As the human race ascends the steep acclivity of improvement, the Quaker cherishes woman as the equal companion of the journey.

Nor does he know an abiding distinction of king and subject. The universality of the Inner Light "brings crowns to the dust, and lays them low and level with the earth." "The Lord will be king; there will be no crowns but to such as

obey his will." With God a thousand years are indeed as one day; yet judgment on tyrants will come at last, and may come ere long.

Every man has God in the conscience; therefore the Quaker knows no distinction of castes. He bows to God, and not to his fellow-servant. "All men are alike by creation," says Barclay; and it is slavish fear which reverences others as gods. "I am a man," says every Quaker, and refuses homage. The most favored of his race, even though endowed with the gifts and glories of an angel, he would regard but as his fellow-servant and his brother. The feudal nobility still nourished its pride. "Nothing," says Penn, "nothing of man's folly has less show of reason to palliate it." "What a pother has this noble blood made in the world!" "But men of blood have no marks of honor stampt upon them by nature." The Quaker scorned to take off his hat to any of them; he held himself the peer of the proudest peer in Christendom. With the eastern despotism of Diocletian, Europe had learned the hyperboles of eastern adulation; but "My Lord Peter and My Lord Paul are not to be found in the Bible; My Lord Solon or Lord Scipio is not to be read in Greek or Latin stories." And the Quaker returned to the simplicity of Gracchus and Demosthenes, though "Thee and Thou proved a sore cut to proud flesh." This was not done for want of courtesy, which "no religion destroys;" but he knew that the hat was the symbol of enfranchisement, worn before the king by the peers of the realm, in token of equality; and the symbol, as adopted by the Quaker, was a constant proclamation that all men are equal.

Thus the doctrine of George Fox was not only a plebeian form of philosophy, but the prophecy of political changes. The spirit that made to him the revelation was the invisible spirit of the age, rendered wise by tradition, and excited to insurrection by the enthusiasm of liberty and religion. Everywhere in Europe, therefore, the Quakers were exposed to persecution. Their seriousness was called melancholy fanaticism; their boldness, self-will; their frugality, covetousness; their freedom, infidelity; their conscience, rebellion. In England, the general laws against dissent, the statute against the papist,

and special statutes against themselves, put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as "an abominable sect;" "their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government." During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherland, everywhere, and for wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs; they were whipped, crowded into jails among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination, fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer. Twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Hauled out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, "willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord." They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for a refuge? When New Netherland was recovered from the United Provinces, Berkeley and Carteret entered again into possession of their portion of it. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realized; there was nothing before him but contests for quit-rents with settlers resolved on governing themselves; and in March, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all our colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty peer, for a thousand pounds, sold the half of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed by the benevolent decision of William Penn;

and, in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the Griffith for the asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot; and, as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas became his assigns as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jeresy were offered for sale. As an affair of property, it was like land companies of to-day, except that in those days speculators bought acres by the hundred thousand. But the Quakers desired a territory where they could institute a government; and Carteret, in August, 1676, readily agreed to a division, for they left him the best of the bargain.

And, now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The light that lighteth every man shone brightly in the pilgrims of Plymouth, in the Calvinists with Hooker and Haynes, and in the freemen of Virginia when the transient abolition of monarchy compelled even royalists to look from the throne to a surer guide in the heart; the Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the Mayflower, of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The CONCESSIONS are such as Friends approve of;" this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; for we put THE POWER IN THE PEOPLE." And on the third day of March, 1677, the fundamental laws of West New Jersey were perfected and published. They are written with almost as much method as our present constitutions, and recognise the principle of democratic equality as unconditionally and universally as the Quaker society itself.

No man, nor number of men, hath power over conscience. No person shall at any time, in any ways, or on any pretence, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt for opin-

ion in religion. The general assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the balloting-box. Every man is capable to choose or be chosen. The electors shall give their respective deputies instructions at large, which these, in their turn, by indentures under hand and seal, shall bind themselves to obey. The disobedient deputy may be questioned before the assembly by any one of his electors. Each member is to be allowed one shilling a day, to be paid by his immediate constituents, "that he may be known as the servant of the people." The executive power rested with ten commissioners, to be appointed by the assembly; justices and constables were chosen directly by the people; the judges, appointed by the general assembly, retained office but two years at the most, and sat in the courts but as assistants to the jury. In the twelve men, and in them only, judgment resides; in them and in the general assembly rests discretion as to punishments. "All and every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery." No man can be imprisoned for debt. Courts were to be managed without the necessity of an attorney or counsellor. The native was protected against encroachments; the helpless orphan educated by the state.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good wishes of Charles II., flocked to West New Jersey; and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and, already at Burlington, under a tent covered with sail-cloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. The Indian kings, in 1678, gathered in council under the shades of the Burlington forests, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace. "You are our brothers," said the sachems, "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in.

If an Englishman falls asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone. The path shall be plain; there shall not be in it a stump to hurt the feet."

Everything augured success to the colony, but that, at Newcastle, the agent of the duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remonstrances were made, the duke referred the question to a disinterested commission, before which the Quakers reasoned thus:

"An express grant of the powers of government induced us to buy the moiety of New Jersey. If we could not assure people of an easy, free, and safe government, liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement. It were madness to leave a free country to plant a wilderness, and give another person an absolute title to tax us at will.

"The customs imposed by the government of New York are not a burden only, but a wrong. By what right are we thus used? The king of England cannot take his subjects' goods without their consent. This is a home-born right, declared to be law by divers statutes.

"To give up the right of making laws is to change the government and resign ourselves to the will of another. The land belongs to the natives; of the duke we buy nothing but the right of an undisturbed colonizing, with the expectation of some increase of the freedoms enjoyed in our native country. We have not lost English liberty by leaving England.

"The tax is a surprise on the planter; it is paying for the same thing twice over. Custom, levied upon planting, is unprecedented. Besides, there is no end of this power. By this precedent, we are assessed without law, and excluded from our English right of common assent to taxes. We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not for the soil only, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to true greatness.

"Lastly, to exact such unterminated tax from English planters, and to continue it after so many repeated complaints,

will be the greatest evidence of a design to introduce, if the crown should ever devolve upon the duke, an unlimited government in England."

This argument of the Quakers was triumphant. Sir William Jones decided that, as the grant from the duke of York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. The duke of York promptly acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture of August, 1680, relinquished every claim to the territory and the government.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light of peace dawned upon West New Jersey; and, in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said *thee* and *thou* to all the world, and wore their hats in the presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation, and, in the spirit of "the concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. What shall we relate of a community thus organized? That they multiplied, and were happy? that they levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be paid in corn, or skins, or money? that they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds? that they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians? that they forbade imprisonment for debt? The formation of this little government of a few hundred souls, that soon increased to thousands, is one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the age. West New Jersey would have been a fit home for Fénelon. The people rejoiced under the reign of God, confident that he would beautify the meek with salvation. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England, and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received. "Friends that are gone to make plantations in America, keep the plantations in your hearts, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt. You that are governors and judges, you should be eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and fathers to the poor; that you may gain the blessing of those who are ready to perish, and cause the widow's heart to sing

for gladness. If you rejoice because your hand hath gotten much; if you say to fine gold, Thou art my confidence—you will have denied the God that is above. The Lord is ruler among nations; he will crown his people with dominion."

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed as proprietary the right of nominating the deputy governor. The usurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. This method of reform was the advice of William Penn.

For in the mean time William Penn had become deeply interested in the progress of civilization on the Delaware. In company with eleven others, he had purchased East New Jersey of the heirs of Carteret. But of the eastern moiety of New Jersey, peopled chiefly by Puritans, the history is intimately connected with that of New York. The line that divides East and West New Jersey is the line where the influence of the humane society of Friends is merged in that of Puritanism.

CHAPTER XVI.

PENNSYLVANIA.

It was for the grant of a territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware that William Penn, in June, 1680, became a suitor. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage, in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to him a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. To Charles II., always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province was the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. Penn had friends in North, Halifax, and Sunderland; and a pledge given to his father on his death-bed obtained for him the favor of the duke of York. With such support, he triumphed over "great opposition," and obtained a charter for the territory, which received from Charles II. the name of Pennsylvania, and was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. The duke of York desired to retain the three lower counties—that is, the state of Delaware—as an appendage to New York; Pennsylvania was, therefore, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from Newcastle, northward and westward, to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary received the assent of the agents of the duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. That nothing might be at variance with English law, it was revised by the attorney-general, and amended by Lord North, who inserted clauses to guard the sovereignty of the king and the commercial supremacy of par-

liament. The acts of the future colonial legislature were to be submitted to the king and council, who might annul them if contrary to English law. The right to levy customs was expressly reserved to parliament. The bishop of London, quite unnecessarily, required security for the English church. The people were to be safe against taxation, except by the provincial assembly or the English parliament. In other respects, the usual franchises of a feudal proprietary were conceded.

At length, writes William Penn, on the fifth of March, 1681, "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England. God will bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care of the government, that it be well laid at first."

Pennsylvania included the principal settlements of the Swedes; and lands which had been granted to Dutch and English by the Dutch West India company and by the duke of York. The royal proclamation of the second of April announced to the inhabitants of the province that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and pre-eminences necessary for the government. The proprietary issued a proclamation in the following words:

"My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the king's choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industreous People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct

you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true Friend,

"WM. PENN.

"LONDON, 8th of the month called April, 1681."

Such were the pledges of the Quaker sovereign on assuming the government; during his long reign, these pledges were faithfully redeemed. He never refused the free men of Pennsylvania a reasonable desire.

With this letter to the inhabitants, William Markham sailed in May as agent of the proprietary. He was to govern in harmony with law, and the people were requested to continue the established system of revenue till Penn himself could reach America. In July, the conditions for the sale of lands were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. The enterprise of planting a province would have been vast for a man of large fortune; Penn's estate had yielded, when unencumbered, a revenue of fifteen hundred pounds; but, in his zeal to rescue his suffering brethren from persecution, he had, by heavy expenses in courts of law and at court, impaired his resources. In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehannah. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound by his religion to equal laws. "I will not abuse the love of God"—such was his decision—"nor act unworthy of his Providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom to honor his name and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations;" and he adds to a Friend: "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

With a company of emigrants, full instructions were forwarded, in September, respecting lands and planting a city. Penn disliked the crowded towns of the Old World; he desired the city might be so planted with gardens round each house as to form "a greene country town." In October, he addressed a letter to the natives of the American forest, declaring himself and them responsible to one and the same

God, having the same law written in their hearts, and alike bound to love and help and do good to one another.

Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by thoughts on the government which he should establish. To him government was a part of religion itself, an emanation of divine power, capable of kindness, goodness, and charity; having an opportunity of benevolent care for men of the highest attainments, even more than the office of correcting evil-doers; and, without imposing one uniform model on all the world, without denying that time, place, and emergencies may bring with them a necessity or an excuse for monarchical or even aristocratical institutions, he believed "any government to be free to the people where the laws rule, and the people are a party to the laws." Penn was superior to avarice, and he had risen above ambition; but he loved to do good; and could passionate philanthropy resign absolute power apparently so favorable to the exercise of vast benevolence? "I purpose" —such was the prompt decision which he announced in May, 1682—"for the matters of liberty I purpose that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and successors no power of doeing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Taking counsel, therefore, from all sides, he published a frame of government, not as a conceded constitution, but as a system to be referred to the freemen in Pennsylvania.

In the same month a free society of traders was organized. "It is a very unusual society"—such was their advertisement —"for it is an absolute free one, and in a free country; every one may be concerned that will, and yet have the same liberty of private traffique, as though there were no society at all."

To perfect his territory, Penn desired the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. The territories or three lower counties, now forming the state of Delaware, were in possession of the duke of York, and from the conquest of New Netherland had been esteemed an appendage

to his province. His claim, arising from conquest and possession, had the informal assent of the king and the privy council, and had extended even to the upper Swedish settlements. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, in August, the lower province was granted by two deeds of feoffment. From the forty-third degree of latitude to the Atlantic, the western and southern banks of Delaware river and bay were under the dominion of William Penn.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, in a beautiful letter he took leave of his family. His wife, who was the love of his youth, he reminded of his impoverishment in consequence of his public spirit, and wrote: "Live low and sparingly till my debts be paid." Yet for his children he adds: "Let their learning be liberal; spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." "Let my children be husbandmen and housewives." Friends in England gave their farewell at parting with "the innocence and tenderness of the child that has no guile."

After a long passage, rendered gloomy by frequent death among the passengers, many of whom had in England been his immediate neighbors, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1682, William Penn landed at Newcastle.

The son and grandson of naval officers, his thoughts had from boyhood been directed to the ocean; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarized his imagination with the New World, and in the university of Oxford, at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of Independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul; and at Oxford, where his studies included the writings of the Greek philosophers, especially of Plato, the words of a Quaker preacher so touched his heart that, in 1661, he was fined and afterward expelled for non-conformity. His father, bent on subduing his enthusiasm, beat him and turned him into the streets, to choose between poverty with a pure conscience, or fortune with obedience. But how could the hot anger of a petulant sailor continue against his oldest son? It was in the days of Descartes that, to complete

his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the continent.

From the excitements and the instruction of travel the young exile turned aside to the college at Saumur, where, under the guidance of the gifted and benevolent Amyrault, his mind was trained in the severities of Calvinism, as tempered by the spirit of universal love.

In 1664, Penn was just crossing the Alps into Piedmont when the appointment of his father to the command of a British squadron in the naval war with Holland compelled his return to the care of the estates of the family. In London the travelled student of Lincoln's Inn, while diligent in gaining a knowledge of English law, was yet esteemed a most modish fine gentleman.

Having thus strengthened his understanding by the learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England; being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist; of great natural vivacity and gay good humor—the career of wealth and preferment was open before him through the influence of his father and the ready favor of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with "a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of its religions."

In 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn heard his old friend Thomas Loe speak of the faith that overcomes the world; the undying fires of enthusiasm at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice of conscience. "Religion," such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland, "is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman."

After his enlargement, returning to England, he encountered bitter mockings and scornings, the invectives of the priests, the strangeness of all his old companions; it was

noised about in the fashionable world, as an excellent jest, that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing;" and, in 1667, his father, in anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a mother's fondness, became an author, and, in 1668, announced to princes, priests, and people, that he was one of the despised, afflicted, and forsaken Quakers. Repairing to court with his hat on, he sought to engage the duke of Buckingham in favor of liberty of conscience, claimed from those in authority better things for dissenters than stocks and whips and dungeons and banishments, and was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when he himself, in the heyday of early life, was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower. His offence was heresy: the bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. The kind-hearted Charles II. sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the enthusiast. "The Tower," such was Penn's message to the king, "is to me the worst argument in the world." In vain did Stillingfleet urge the motive of royal favor and preferment. The inflexible young man demanded freedom of Arlington, "as the natural privilege of an Englishman;" club-law, he argued with the minister, may make hypocrites; it never can make converts. Conscience needs no mark of public allowance. It is not like a bale of goods that is to be forfeited unless it has the stamp of the custom-house. After losing his freedom for about nine months, his constancy commanded the respect and recovered the favor of his father, and his prison-door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the duke of York.

The Quakers, exposed to judicial tyranny, sought a barrier against their oppressors by narrowing the application of the common law, and restricting the right of judgment to the jury. Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year, when, after the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned, in 1670, for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. "Not all the powers on earth shall divert us from meeting to adore our God who made us," said Penn as he asked on what law the

indictment was founded. "On the common law," answered the recorder. "Where is that law?" demanded Penn. "The law which is not in being, far from being common, is no law at all." Amid angry exclamations and menaces he proceeded to plead earnestly for the fundamental laws of England, and, as he was hurried out of court, still reminded the jury that "they were his judges." Dissatisfied with the first verdict returned, the recorder heaped upon the jury every opprobrious epithet. "We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." "You are Englishmen," said Penn, who had been again brought to the bar; "mind your privilege, give not away your right." "It never will be well with us," said the recorder, "till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." At last the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day gave their verdict: "Not guilty." The recorder fined them forty marks apiece for their independence, and, amercing Penn for contempt of court, sent him back to prison. The trial was an era in judicial history. The fines were soon afterward discharged by his father, who was now approaching his end. "Son William," said the dying admiral, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end of the priests."

Inheriting an easy fortune, he continued to defend from the press the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality; he remonstrated in unmeasured terms against the bigotry and intolerance, "the hellish darkness and debauchery," of the university of Oxford; he exposed the errors of the Roman Catholic church, and in the same breath pleaded for a toleration of their worship; and, never fearing openly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for his honesty by a six months' imprisonment. "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his

life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me toward them. Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander under my feet."

From Newgate, Penn addressed parliament and the nation in a noble plea for liberty of conscience—a liberty which he defended from experience, from religion, and from reason.

On his release from imprisonment, a calmer season of seven years followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then returning to England, he married a woman of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper, whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honored him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life and the animating pursuit of letters, till the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. Then it was that, in considering England's present interest, he refused to rest his appeal on the sentiment of mercy, and merited the highest honors of a statesman by unfolding the rights of conscience in their connection with the peace and happiness of the state.

The summer and autumn after the first considerable Quaker emigration, Barclay and Penn went to and fro in Germany, from the Weser to the Mayne, the Rhine, and the Neckar, distributing tracts, discoursing with men of every sect and every rank, rebuking every attempt to inthrall the mind, and sending reproofs to kings and magistrates, to the princes and lawyers of all Christendom. He explained "the universal principle" in the court of the princess palatine, and to the few Quaker converts among the peasantry of Kirchheim. This visit of Penn gave new life to the colonial plans of Oxenstiern, and inflamed the desire of the peasantry and the middle class of Germany to remove to America.

On his return to England he appeared before a committee of the house of commons to plead for universal liberty of conscience.

Defeated in his hopes from parliament by its dissolution, Penn took an active part in the elections of 1679. And, as

Algernon Sidney now "embarked with those that did seek love, and choose the best things," William Penn engaged in the contest for his election, and greatly assisted in obtaining for him a majority which was defeated only by a false return.

Despairing of relief in Europe, Penn bent his energies to the establishment of a free government in the New World. And now, in October, 1682, being in the meridian of life, but a year older than was Locke when, twelve years before, he had assisted in framing a constitution for Carolina, the Quaker legislator was come to the New World to lay the foundations of states. Locke, like William Penn, was tolerant; both loved freedom; both cherished truth in sincerity. But Locke kindled the torch of liberty at the fires of tradition; Penn, at the living light in the soul. Locke sought truth through the senses and the outward world; Penn looked inward to the divine revelations in every mind. Locke compared the soul to a sheet of white paper, just as Hobbes had compared it to a slate, on which time and chance may scrawl their experience; to Penn, the soul was an organ which of itself instinctively breathes divine harmonies. To Locke, "conscience is nothing else than our own opinion of our own actions;" to Penn, it is the image of God, and his oracle in the soul. Locke, who was never a father, esteemed "the duty of parents to preserve their children not to be understood without reward and punishment;" Penn loved his children, with not a thought for the consequences. Locke, who was never married, declares marriage an affair of the senses; Penn reverenced woman as the object of fervent, inward affection, made not for lust, but for love. In studying the understanding, Locke begins with the sources of knowledge; Penn, with an inventory of our intellectual treasures. Locke deduces government from Noah and Adam, rests it upon contract, and announces its end to be the security of property; Penn, far from going back to Adam, or even to Noah, declares that "there must be a people before a government," and, deducing the right to institute government from man's moral nature, seeks its fundamental rules in the immutable dictates "of universal reason," its end in freedom and happiness. The system of Locke lends itself to contending factions of the

most opposite interests and purposes; the doctrine of Fox and Penn, being but the common creed of humanity, forbids division and insures the highest moral unity. To Locke, happiness is pleasure; things are good and evil only in reference to pleasure and pain; and to "inquire after the highest good is as absurd as to dispute whether the best relish be in apples, plums, or nuts;" Penn esteemed happiness to lie in the subjection of the baser instincts to the instinct of Deity in the breast, good and evil to be eternally and always as unlike as truth and falsehood, and the inquiry after the highest good to involve the purpose of existence. Locke says plainly that, but for rewards and punishments beyond the grave, "it is *certainly right* to eat and drink, and enjoy what we delight in;" Penn, like Plato and Fénelon, maintained the doctrine so terrible to despots that God is to be loved for his own sake, and virtue to be practiced for its intrinsic loveliness. Locke derives the idea of infinity from the senses, describes it as purely negative, and attributes it to nothing but space, duration, and number; Penn derived the idea from the soul, and ascribed it to truth and virtue and God. Locke declares immortality a matter with which reason has nothing to do, and that revealed truth must be sustained by outward signs and visible acts of power; Penn saw truth by its own light, and summoned the soul to bear witness to its own glory. Locke believed "not so many men in wrong opinions as is commonly supposed, because the greatest part have no opinions at all, and do not know what they contend for;" Penn likewise vindicated the many, but it was because truth is the common inheritance of the race. Locke, in his love of tolerance, inveighed against the methods of persecution as "popish practices;" Penn censured no sect, but condemned bigotry of all sorts as inhuman. Locke, as an American law-giver, dreaded a too numerous democracy, and reserved all power to wealth and feudal proprietaries; Penn believed that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul; and therefore he built —such are his own words—"a free colony for all mankind." This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peter and Henry

Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—he did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government and right to it. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast, like Calvin and Descartes a voluntary exile, was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "The Holy Experiment."

The news spread rapidly that the Quaker king was at Newcastle; and, on the twenty-eighth of October, the day after his landing, in presence of a crowd of Swedes and Dutch and English, who had gathered round the court-house, his deeds of feoffment were produced; the duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom.

On the same day Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester, where he was hospitably received by the emigrants who had preceded him from the north of England; the village of herdsmen and farmers, with their plain manners and tranquil passions, seemed a harbinger of a golden age.

From Chester, tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the bank on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise.

For the inauguration of the government, a general convention had been permitted by Penn: the people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the lands which form the state of Delaware; these were then enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united

with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant of the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved as a day of rest, for the ease of the creation. Equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word, the contract, or the testimony of a man, required no confirmation by oath. The spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every resident who paid scot and lot to the governor possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery, a felony. The false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a workhouse. There were neither poor rates nor tithes. The Swedes and Finns and Dutch were invested with the liberties of Englishmen. Well might Lawrence Cook exclaim in their behalf: "It is the best day we have ever seen." The work of legislation being finished, the proprietary urged upon the house his religious counsel, and the assembly was adjourned.

The government having been organized, William Penn, in December, accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West river, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces. The adjustment was difficult. Lord Baltimore claimed by his charter the whole country as far as the fortieth degree. Penn replied, just as the Dutch and the agents of the duke of York had always urged, that the charter for Maryland included only lands that were still unoccupied; that the banks of the Delaware had been purchased, appropriated, and colonized, before that charter was written. For more than fifty years the country had been in the hands of the Dutch and their successors; and, during that period, the claim of Lord Baltimore had always been resisted. The answer of Penn was true, and

conformed to English law as applied to the colonies. In 1623, the Dutch had built Fort Nassau, in New Jersey; and the soil of Delaware was purchased by Godyn, and colonized by De Vries, before the promise of King Charles to Sir George Calvert. But what line should be esteemed the limit of New Netherland? This remained a subject for compromise. A discussion of three days led to no result: tired of useless debates, Penn crossed the Chesapeake to visit Friends at Choptank, and, returning to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation or to submit to arbitration in England.

In the first weeks of 1683, William Penn, having purchased of the Swedes the neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, marked out for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, "in a situation," such are his own words, "not surpassed by one among all the many places" he had seen in the world, he laid out Philadelphia, the city of refuge, the mansion of freedom. "Here," said his Quaker brethren, "we may worship God according to the dictates of the Divine Principle, free from the mouldy errors of tradition; here we may thrive, in peace and retirement, in the lap of unadulterated nature; here we may improve an innocent course of life on a virgin Elysian shore." But vast as were the hopes of the humble Friends, who now marked the boundaries of streets on the chestnut- or ash- and walnut-trees of the original forest, they were surpassed by the reality. Pennsylvania bound the northern and the southern colonies in bonds stronger than paper chains; Philadelphia is the birthplace of American independence and the pledge of union.

In March, the infant city was the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives, Swedes, Dutch, and English, were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. "To the people of this place," said Penn, "I am not like a selfish man; through my travail and pains the province came; it is now in Friends' hands. Our faith is for one another, that God will be our counsellor forever." And, when the general

assembly came together, he referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying: "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one third being renewed annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the initiation of all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Thus no law could be enacted but with the direct assent of the whole community. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. But it received modifications from the legislature by which it was established. The assembly set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote, a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council, and such a power was virtually a right to negative any law. It would have been more simple to have left the assembly full power to originate bills, and to the governor an unconditional negative. This was virtually the method established in 1683; it was distinctly recognised in the fundamental law in 1696. The charter from Charles II. held the proprietary responsible for colonial legislation; and no act of provincial legislation could be perfected till it had passed the great seal of the province. That a negative voice was thus reserved to William Penn was, I believe, the opinion of the colonists of that day; such was certainly the intention of the royal charter. In other respects the frame of government gave all power to the people; the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in case of good behavior, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned. But for the hereditary office of proprietary, Pennsylvania would have been a representative democracy. In Maryland the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania by

the people. In Maryland the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives; and the governor could perform no public act but with the consent of the council. Lord Baltimore had a revenue derived from the export of tobacco, the staple of Maryland, and his colony was burdened with taxes; a similar revenue was offered to William Penn and declined.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assemby with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." In old age his language was still: "If, in the relation between us, the people want of me anything that would make them happier, I shall readily grant it."

The first purchase of land from the Indians for the proprietary was made by Markham, in July, 1682. In May, 1683, Penn "was in treaty for land with the kings of the natives," who took much time to form a resolution. On the twenty-third of June, he met them in council, and received the deed. Two days later in June, and on the fourteenth of July, a further purchase was completed. After this, "great promises passed between him and the Indians of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun should give light." This being done, another chieftain spoke to the Indians in the name of all the several chiefs, first to explain what was done, and then to charge them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with Penn and the people under his government. At every sentence of this last speech the whole company shouted and said Amen, in their way, and a firm and advantageous correspondence with them was settled. "They are a careless, merry people," writes Penn, "yet in affairs of property strict in their dealings. In council, they are deliberate, in speech short, grave, and eloquent." "I have never seen in Europe anything more wise, cautious, and dexterous. It is admirable to me as it may look incredible on the other side

of the water." And again he says: "They have tied themselves by an obligation under their hands that if any of them break our laws they shall submit to be punished by them." The white and the red men "agreed that in all differences between them, twelve men, six of each side, shall end the matter."

Penn often met the Indians, visiting them in their cabins, and sharing their banquet of hominy. The tawny skin did not exclude the instinct of a Deity. "The poor savage people believed in God and the soul without the aid of metaphysics."

The rulers and the natives kept faith with one another. "To the poor dark souls around about us," said the Quakers, "we teach their rights as men."

When Peter, the great Russian reformer, attended in England a meeting of Quakers, the semi-barbarous philanthropist could not but exclaim: "How happy must be a community instituted on their principles!" "Beautiful!" said Frederic of Prussia when, a hundred years later, he read the account of the government of Pennsylvania; "it is perfect, if it can endure." To the charter which Locke invented for Carolina, the proprietaries voted an immutable immortality; and it never gained more than a short, partial existence: to the people of his province Penn left it free to subvert or alter the frame of government; and its essential principles continue to this day without change.

It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the imagination of the Scandinavian emigrants. A turbulent Swedish woman was brought to trial, in 1684, as a witch. Penn presided, and the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The grounds of the accusation were canvassed, the witnesses calmly examined, and the jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner gave bonds that she should keep the peace; and from Penn's domain witchcraft disappeared.

Meantime, the news spread abroad that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation;" and humanity went through Eu-

rope, gathering the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and, from the highlands above Worms, the humble people renounced their German homes for his protection. There had been nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which his simple virtues and institutions inspired. In August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages;" the conies were yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, that foreboded streets; the stranger who wandered from the river bank was lost in the forest; and, two years afterward, the place contained about six hundred houses, and the school-master and the printing press had begun their work. "I must, without vanity, say," such was his honest self-gratulation in 1684, "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us."

The government had been organized, peace with the natives confirmed, the fundamental law established, the courts of justice instituted. The province already contained eight thousand souls. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, Penn, in August, 1684, sailed for England, leaving to his people a farewell, unclouded by apprehension. "My love and my life are to you and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over." "You are come to a quiet land, and liberty and authority are in your hands. Rule for him under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honor to govern in their places." "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, and that thy children

may be blessed." "Dear friends, my love salutes you all." And, after he reached England, he assured eager inquirers that "things went on sweetly with Friends in Pennsylvania; that they increased finely in outward things and in wisdom."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, in October, 1685, it was decided that the tract of Delaware did not constitute a part of Maryland. The boundaries of Delaware were ultimately established by a compromise.

This decision formed the basis of a settlement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterward, the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750, the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years later, they were, by agreement, more accurately defined; and, in 1761, commissioners began to designate the limit of Maryland on the side of Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1763, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two mathematicians and surveyors, were engaged to mark the lines. In 1764, they entered upon their task, with good instruments and a corps of axemen; by the middle of June, 1765, they had traced the parallel of latitude to the Susquehannah; a year later, they climbed the Little Alleghany; in 1767, they carried forward their work, under an escort from the Six Nations, to an Indian war-path, two hundred and forty-four miles from the Delaware river. Others continued Mason and Dixon's line to the bound of Pennsylvania on the south-west.

But the care of colonial property did not absorb the enthusiasm of Penn; now that his father's friend had succeeded to the throne, he employed his fortune, his influence, and his fame to secure that "IMPARTIAL" liberty of conscience which, for nearly twenty years, he had advocated before the magistrates of Ireland, and English juries, in the Tower, in Newgate, before the commons of England, in public discussions with Baxter and the Presbyterians, before Quaker meetings, at Chester and Philadelphia, and through the press to the world. It was his old post, the office to which he was faithful from youth to age. Fifteen thousand families had

been ruined for dissent since the restoration; five thousand persons had died victims to imprisonment. The monarch was persuaded to exercise his prerogative of mercy; and, in 1686, at Penn's intercession, not less than twelve hundred Friends were liberated from the horrible dungeons and prisons where many of them had languished hopelessly for years. For Locke, then a voluntary exile, he obtained a promise of immunity, which the blameless philosopher, in the just pride of innocence, refused. Claiming for the executive of the country the prerogative of employing every person, "according to his ability, and not according to his opinion," he labored to effect a repeal by parliament of every disfranchisement for opinion. Ever ready to deepen the vestiges of British freedom, and vindicate the right of "the free Saxon people to be governed by laws of which they themselves were the makers," his soul was bent on effecting this end by means of parliament during the reign of James II., well knowing that the prince of Orange was pledged to a less liberal policy. The political tracts of "the arch Quaker" in behalf of liberty of conscience connect the immutable principles of human nature and human rights with the character and origin of English freedom, and exhaust the question as a subject for English legislation. No man in England was more opposed to Roman Catholic dominion; but he desired, in the controversy with the Roman church, nothing but equality; and, in the true spirit of liberty, he sought to infuse his principles into the public mind, that so they might find their place in the statute-book through the convictions of his countrymen. William Penn was involved in the obloquy which followed the Stuarts; but the candor of his character triumphs over detraction; his fame has its ineffaceable record in the history of the world.

Meanwhile, the Quaker legislators in the woods of Pennsylvania were serving their novitiate in popular legislation. To complain, to impeach, to institute committees of inquiry, to send for persons and papers, to quarrel with the executive —all was attempted, and all without permanent harm. The assembly, in 1685 and 1686, originated bills without scruple; they attempted a new organization of the judiciary; they alarmed the merchants by their lenity toward debtors; they

would vote no taxes; they claimed the right of inspecting the records, and displacing the officers of the courts. Jealousy of a feudal chief was displayed. The maker of the first Pennsylvania almanac was censured for publishing Penn as a lord; they expelled a member who reminded them that they were contravening the provisions of their charter. The executive power was imperfectly administered, for the council was too numerous a body for its regular exercise. In 1687, a commission of five was substituted; and finally, when it was resolved to appoint a deputy governor, the choice of the proprietary was not wisely made. In legislation, justice and wisdom were left to struggle with folly and passion; but, in the universal prosperity, discontent could find no resting-place.

Peace was uninterrupted. Once, indeed, it was rumored that on the Brandywine five hundred Indians were assembled to concert a massacre. Immediately Caleb Pusey, with five Friends, hastened unarmed to the scene of anticipated danger. The sachem repelled the report with indignation; and the griefs of the tribe were canvassed and assuaged. "The great God, who made all mankind, extends his love to Indians and English. The rain and the dews fall alike on the ground of both; the sun shines on us equally; and we ought to love one another." Such was the diplomacy of the Quaker envoy. The king of the Delawares answered: "What you say is true. Go home, and harvest the corn God has given you. We intend you no harm."

The white man agreed with the red man to love one another. William Penn employed blacks without scruple. The free society of traders, which he chartered and encouraged, in its first public agreement relating to negroes, did but substitute, after fourteen years' service, the severe condition of adscripts to the soil for that of slaves. At a later day he endeavored to secure to the African mental and moral culture, the rights and happiness of domestic life. His efforts were not successful. In his last will he directed his own slaves to be emancipated; but his direction was not regarded by the heir. On the subject of negro slavery, the German mind was least inthralled by prejudice, because Germany had never yet participated in the slave-trade. The Swedish and

German colony of Gustavus Adolphus had avowed the design to permit only free labor. The general meeting of the Quakers for a season forebore a positive judgment; but already, in 1688, "the poor hearts" from Kirchheim, "the little handful" of German Friends from the highlands above the Rhine, came to the resolution that it was not lawful for Christians to buy or to keep negro slaves.

This decision of the German emigrants on negro slavery was taken during the lifetime of George Fox, who recognised no distinction of race. "Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks, and the whites," was his message to Quakers on the Delaware. A few weeks before his death, he exhorted Friends in America to be the light of the world, the salt to preserve earth from corruption. Covetousness, he adds, is idolatry; and he bids them beware of that "idol for which so many lose morality and humanity." In 1691, on his deathbed, nearly his last words were: "Mind poor Friends in America." His works praise him. Neither time nor place can dissolve fellowship with his spirit. To his name William Penn left this short epitaph: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear George, thou excellest them all."

An opposite system was developed in the dominions of the duke of York.

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES II. CONSOLIDATES THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

The country which, in June, 1674, after the reconquest of New Netherland, was again conveyed to the duke of York, extended from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, and from the Connecticut river to Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware.

The charter from the king sanctioned whatever ordinances the duke of York or his assigns might establish; and in regard to justice, revenue, and legislation, Edmund Andros, the governor, was responsible only to his employer. He was instructed to display all the humanity and gentleness that could consist with arbitrary power; and, avoiding wilful cruelty, to use punishments as an instrument of terror. On the last day of October, he received the surrender of New Netherland from the representatives of the Dutch, and renewed the absolute authority of the proprietary. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Long Island resolved, in town-meetings, to adhere to Connecticut. The charter of that government did not countenance their decision; and, unwilling to be declared rebels, they submitted to New York.

In July, 1675, Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy governor, one of the original seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly. A proclamation was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the captain of the company on whose firmness the independence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoist-

ing the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook fort. Immediately the English colors were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and, in the king's name, ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name he was commanded to desist; and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and yeomen who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he spoke of as a slander, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island; and Connecticut, resenting the aggression, made a declaration of its wrongs, sealed it with its seal, and transmitted it to the neighboring plantations.

In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But, since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, in 1676, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

The dull James II., then duke of York, of a fair complexion and an athletic frame, was patient in details, yet singularly blind to universal principles, plodding with sluggish diligence, but unable to conform conduct to a general rule. Within narrow limits he reasoned correctly; but his vision did not extend far. Without sympathy for the people, he had no discernment of character, and was the easy victim of duplicity and intrigue. His loyalty was but devotion to the prerogative which he hoped to inherit. Brave in the face of expected dangers, an unforeseen emergency found him pusillanimously helpless. He kept his word sacredly, unless it involved complicated relations, which he could scarcely comprehend. As to religion, a service of forms alone suited his narrow understanding; to attend mass, to build chapels, to risk the kingdom for a rosary—all this was within his grasp. Freedom of conscience was, in that age, an idea yet standing on the threshold of the world, waiting to be ushered in; and none

but exalted minds—Roger Williams and Penn, Vane, Fox, and Bunyan—went forth to welcome it; no glimpse of it reached James, whose selfish policy, unable to gain immediate dominion for his persecuted priests and his confessor, begged at least for toleration. Debauching a woman on promise of marriage, he next allowed her to be traduced, and then married her; he was conscientious, but his moral sense was as slow as his understanding. He was not bloodthirsty; but to a narrow mind fear seems the most powerful instrument of government, and he propped his throne on the block and the gallows. A libertine without love, a devotee without spirituality, an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience, he floated between the sensuality of indulgence and the sensuality of superstition, hazarding heaven for an ugly mistress, and, to the great delight of abbots and nuns, winning it back again by pricking his flesh with sharp points of iron, and eating no meat on Saturdays. Of the two brothers, the duke of Buckingham said well, that Charles would not and James could not see. On the first of January, 1677, James put his whole character into his reply to Andros, which was as follows:

"I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence, nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges, which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them. Things that need redress may be sure of finding it at the quarter sessions, or by the legal and ordinary ways, or, lastly, by appeals to myself. However, I shall be ready to consider of any proposal you shall send."

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahock—that is, Maine east of the Kennebec—had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros hastened to England; but he could not give eyes to the duke; and, on his return to New York, in 1678, he was ordered to continue the duties which, at the surrender, had been established for three years. In 1679, the revenue was a little increased; but the taxes were hardly three per cent on imports, and

really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony; and an attempt to thwart the discipline of the Dutch Reformed church by the prerogative had been abandoned. As in the days of Lovelace, the province was "a terrestrial Canaan. The inhabitants were blessed in their basket and their store. They were free from pride; and a wagon gave as good content as in Europe a coach, their home-made cloth as the finest lawns. The doors of the low-roofed houses, which luxury never entered, stood wide open to charity and to the stranger." The island of New York may, in 1678, have contained not far from three thousand inhabitants; in the whole colony there could not have been far from twenty thousand. Ministers were scarce but welcome, and religions many; the poor were relieved, and beggars unknown. A thousand pounds seemed opulence; the possessor of half that sum was rich. The exports were land productions—wheat, lumber, tobacco—and peltry from the Indians. In the community, composed essentially of freeholders, great equality of condition prevailed; there were but "few merchants," "few servants, and very few slaves." Prompted by an exalted instinct, the people, in a popular convention, demanded power to govern themselves; and when, in 1681, the two Platts, Titus, Wood, and Wicks, of Huntington, arbitrarily summoned to New York, were still more arbitrarily thrown into prison, the purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till they were granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

In East New Jersey, Philip Carteret, as the deputy of Sir George, had, in 1675, resumed the government, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quit-rents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the duke of York, Andros, in 1678, claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long

altercations and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros, in 1680, again entered New Jersey, to intimidate its assembly by the royal patent to the duke. New Jersey could not, as in the happier Connecticut, plead an earlier grant from the king. "We are the representatives of the freeholders of this province:" such was the answer of the assembly; "his majesty's patent, though under the great seal, we dare not grant to be our rule or joint safety; for the great charter of England, alias Magna Charter, is the only rule, privilege, and joint safety of every free-born Englishman."

The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and, in 1682, the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. A brief account of the province was immediately published; and settlers were allured by a eulogy on its healthful climate and safe harbors, its fisheries and abundant game, its forests and fertile soil, and the large liberties established for the encouragement of adventurers. In November, possession was taken by Thomas Rudyard, as temporary deputy governor; the happy country was already tenanted by "a sober, professing people." Meantime, the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and, in March, 1683, to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterward chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay who became nominally the governor of the territory, a new and last patent of East New Jersey was granted by the duke of York. From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and, in 1685, just before embarking for America with his own family and about two hundred passengers, George Scot, of Pitlochie, addressed to his countrymen an argument in favor of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his neighbor. "It is judged the interest of the government"—thus he wrote, apparently with the sanction of men in power—"to suppress Presbyterian principles altogether; the whole force of the law of this kingdom is levelled

at the effectual bearing them down. The rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of those who, notwithstanding thereof, find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles. A retreat where, by law, a toleration is allowed, doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions."

This is the era at which East New Jersey, till now chiefly colonized from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to supplant the church of Scotland, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? To whom has the tale not been told of the defeat of Graham of Claverhouse on Loudon Hill, and the subsequent rout of the insurgent fanatics at Bothwell Bridge? Of the Cameronians, hunted like beasts of prey, and exasperated by sufferings and despair? refusing, in face of the gallows, to say, "God save the king;" and charged even by their wives to die for the good old cause of the covenant? "I am but twenty," said an innocent girl at her execution, in 1680; "and they can accuse me of nothing but my judgment." The boot and the thumbikins could not extort confessions. The condemnation of Argyle displayed, in 1681, the prime nobility as "the vilest of mankind;" and wide-spread cruelty exhausted itself in devising punishments. In 1683, just after the grant of East New Jersey, a proclamation, unparalleled since the days when Alva drove the Netherlands into independence, proscribed all who had ever communed with rebels, and put twenty thousand lives at the mercy of informers. "It were better," said Lauderdale, "the country bore windle straws and sand larks than boor rebels to the king." After the insurrection of Monmouth, in 1684, the sanguinary excesses of despotic revenge were revived, gibbets erected in villages to intimidate the people, and soldiers intrusted with the execution of the laws. Scarce a Presbyterian family in Scotland but was involved in proscriptions or penalties; the jails overflowed, and their tenants were sold as slaves to the plantations.

Maddened by the succession of military murders; driven from their homes to caves, from caves to morasses and moun-

tains; bringing death to the inmates of a house that should shelter them, death to the benefactor that should throw them food, death to the friend that listened to their complaint, death to the wife or the father that still dared to solace a husband or a son; ferreted out by spies; hunted with packs of dogs—the fanatics turned upon their pursuers, and threatened to retaliate on the men who should continue to imbrue their hands in blood. The council retorted by ordering a massacre. He that would not take the oath should be executed, though unarmed; and the recusants were shot on the roads, or as they labored in the fields, or as they stood in prayer. To fly was a confession of guilt; to excite suspicion was sentence of death; to own the covenant was treason. The houses of the victims were set on fire, their families shipped for the colonies. "It never will be well with Scotland till the country south of the Forth is reduced to a hunting-field." The remark is ascribed to James. "I doubt not, sir, but to be able to propose a way how to gratifie all such as your majestie shall be pleased to thinke deserving of it, without touching your exchequer," wrote Jeffries to James II., just as he had passed sentence of transportation on hundreds of Monmouth's English followers. James II. sent the hint to the north, and in Scotland the business was equally well understood. The indemnity proclaimed in 1685, on the accession of James II., was an act of delusive clemency. Every day wretched fugitives were tried by a jury of soldiers, and executed in clusters on the highways; women, fastened to stakes beneath the sea-mark, were drowned by the rising tide; the dungeons were crowded with men perishing for want of water and air. Of the shoals transported to America, women were often burnt in the cheek, men marked by lopping off their ears.

From 1682 to 1687, Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, hurried to East New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half did not efface. In 1686, after the judicial murder of the duke of Argyle, his brother, Lord Neill Campbell, who had purchased the proprietary right of

Sir George Mackenzie, and in the previous year had sent over a large number of settlers, came himself to act for a few months as chief magistrate. When Campbell withdrew, the executive power, weakened by transfers, was intrusted by him to Andrew Hamilton. The territory, easy of access, flanked on the west by outposts of Quakers, was the abode of peace and abundance, of deep religious faith and honest industry. Peaches and vines flourished on the river sides, the woods were crimsoned with strawberries, and "brave oysters" abounded along the shore. Brooks and rivulets, with "curious clear water," were as frequent as in the dear native Scotland; the houses of the towns, unlike the pent villages of the Old World, were scattered upon the several lots and farms; the highways were so broad that flocks of sheep could nibble by the roadside; horses multiplied in the woods. In a few years, a law of the commonwealth, giving force to the common principle of the New England and the Scottish Calvinists, established a system of free schools. It was "a gallant, plentiful" country, where the humblest laborer might soon turn farmer for himself. In all its borders, said Gawen Laurie, the faithful Quaker merchant, who had been Rudyard's successor, "there is not a poor body, or one that wants."

The mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil; and their faith, institutions, and preferences, having life in the common mind, survive the Stuarts.

Everything breathed hope, but for the arbitrary cupidity of James II., and the navigation acts. Dyer, the collector, eager to levy a tax on the commerce of the colony, complained of their infringement; in April, 1686, a writ of quo warranto against the proprietaries menaced New Jersey with being made "more dependent." It was of no avail to appeal to the justice of King James, who revered the prerogative with idolatry; and, in 1688, to stay the process for forfeiture, the proprietaries, stipulating only for their right of property in the soil, surrendered their claim to the jurisdiction. The province was annexed to New York.

In New York, the attempt to levy customs without a

colonial assembly had been defeated, in March, 1682, by the grand jury, and trade became free just as Andros was returning to England. All parties joined in entreating for the people a share in legislation. The duke of York temporized. The provincial revenue had expired; the ablest lawyers in England questioned his right to renew it; the province opposed its collection with a spirit that required compliance, and in January, 1683, the newly appointed governor, Thomas Dongan, nephew of Tyrconnell, a Roman Catholic, was instructed to call a general assembly of all the freeholders by the persons whom they should choose to represent them. Accordingly, on the seventeenth of the following October, about seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the people of New York met in assembly, and by their first act claimed the rights of Englishmen. "Supreme legislative power," such was their further declaration, "shall for ever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion." So New York, by its self-enacted "charter of franchises and privileges," took its place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts, surpassing them both in religious toleration. The proprietary accepted the revenue granted by the legislature for a limited period, permitted another session to be held, and promised to make no alterations in the form or manner of the bill containing the franchises and privileges of the colony, except for its advantage; but in 1685, in less than a month after he had ascended the throne, James II. prepared to overturn the institutions which, as duke of York, he had conceded. A direct tax was decreed by an ordinance; the titles to real estate were questioned, that larger fees and quit-rents might be ex-

torted; and of the farmers of Easthampton who protested against the tyranny, six were arraigned before the council.

The governor of New York had been instructed to preserve friendly relations with the French; but Dongan refused to neglect the Five Nations, and sought to divert their commerce to the New York traders by a reciprocal amnesty of past injuries.

The Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga warriors had left bloody traces of their inroads along the Susquehanna and near the highlands of Virginia. The impending struggle with New France quickened their desire to renew peace with the English; and in July, 1684, the deputies from the Mohawks and the three offending tribes, soon joined by the Senecas, met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany.

After listening to the complaints and pacific proposals of Lord Howard of Effingham, Cadianne, the Mohawk orator, on the fourteenth rebuked the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas for their want of faith, and expressed gladness that the past was to be buried in the pit. "The covenant," he said, "must be preserved; the fire of love of Virginia and Maryland, and of the Five Nations, burns in this place; this house of peace must be kept clean. We plant a tree whose top shall touch the sun, whose branches shall be seen afar. We will shelter ourselves under it, and live in unmolested peace."

At the conclusion of the treaty, each of the three nations of wrong-doers gave a hatchet to be buried. "We bury none for ourselves," said the Mohawks, "for we have never broken the ancient chain." The axes were buried, and the offending tribes in noisy rapture chanted the song of peace.

"Brother Corlaer," said a chief for the Onondagas and Cayugas, in August, "your sachem is a great sachem, and we are a small people." "When the English came first to Manhattan, to Virginia, and to Maryland, they were a small people, and we were great. Because we found you a good people, we treated you kindly, and gave you land. Now, therefore, that you are great and we small, we hope you will protect us from the French. They are angry with us because we carry beaver to our brethren."

The envoys of the Senecas, on the fifth, told their delight

that the tomahawk was buried, and all evil put away from the hearts of the English. The sachems returned to nail the arms of the duke of York over their castles, a protection, as they thought, against the French, an acknowledgment, as the English assumed, of British sovereignty.

Among the chiefs, especially among the Onondagas, there were those who were jealous of English supremacy, and desired to secure their own independence by balancing the French against the English. The French, they said, they had for ten years called their father as they had called the English their brother; "but," said an Onondaga chief, "it is because we have willed it so. Neither the one nor the other is our master; we are free; we are brethren; we must take care of ourselves." Yet the English claimed the domain of the Iroquois south of the lakes as subject to England, and set no bounds to their traffic with the red men. In the summer of 1686 a party of their traders penetrated even to Michilimackinac. The limits between the English and French never were settled, but at that time the Five Nations of themselves were a sufficient bulwark against encroachments from Canada.

The alarm of Massachusetts at the loss of its charter, in 1685, had been increased by the report that Kirke, afterward infamous for military massacres in the west of England, was destined for its governor. It was a relief to find that Joseph Dudley, a degenerate son of the colony, was intrusted for a season with the highest powers of magistracy over the country from Narragansett to Nova Scotia. The general court, in session at his arrival, and unprepared for open resistance, dissolved their assembly, and returned in sadness to their homes. The charter government was publicly displaced by the arbitrary commission, popular representation abolished, and the press subjected to the censorship of Randolph.

On the twentieth of December, 1686, Sir Edmund-Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston, as governor of all New England. He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York

came West as secretary. In the council there were four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man. The other members formed a fruitless but united opposition. "His excellency," said Randolph, "has to do with a perverse people."

Personal liberty and the customs of the country were disregarded. None might leave the colony without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twentyfold. "West," says Randolph—for dishonest men betray one another—"extorts what fees he pleases, to the great oppression of the people, and renders the present government grievous." To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts bay except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1665. Its day of liberty was come. Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans, as they answered: "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the appointed hour the bell rung; and the love of liberty did not expire, even though, in a Boston meeting-house, the Common Prayer was read in a surplice. By and by the people were desired to contribute toward erecting a church. "The bishops," answered Sewall, "would have thought strange to have been asked to contribute toward setting up New England churches."

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II., a tax of a penny in the pound and a poll-tax of twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council. The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of Ipswich, then the second town in the colony, in town-meeting, John Wise, the minister who used to assert, "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state," advised resistance. "We have," said he, "a good God and a good king; we shall do well to stand to our privileges." "You have no privilege," answered one of the coun-

cil, after the arraignment of Wise and the selectmen; "you have no privilege left you but not to be sold as slaves." "Do you believe," demanded Andros, "Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" The writ of habeas corpus was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his charge to the packed jury Dudley spoke plainly: "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise: "It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive."

The taxes, in amount not grievous, were for public purposes. But the lean wolves of tyranny were themselves hungry for spoils. It was the intention of King James that "their several properties, according to their ancient records," should be granted them; the fee for the grants was the excuse for extortion. "All the inhabitants," wrote Randolph, "must take new grants of their lands, which will bring in vast profits." Indeed, there was not money enough in the country to have paid the exorbitant fees which were demanded.

The colonists pleaded their charter; but grants under the charter were declared void by its forfeiture. Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take possession," it was answered, "for the king." "The men of Massachusetts did much quote Lord Coke;" but, defeated in argument by Andros, who was a good lawyer, John Higginson, minister of Salem, went back from the common law of England to the book of Genesis, and, recalling that God gave the earth to the sons of Adam to be subdued and replenished, declared that the people of New England

held their lands "by the grand charter from God." At this, Andros, incensed, bade him approve himself "a subject or a rebel." The lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favorites; writs of intrusion were multiplied; and fees, amounting, in some cases, to one fourth the value of an estate, were exacted for granting a patent to its owner. A selected jury offered no relief. "Our condition," said Danforth, "is little inferior to absolute slavery;" and the people of Lynn afterward gave thanks to God for their escape from the worst of bondage. "The governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say anything was his own."

By the additional powers and instructions of June, 1686, Andros was authorized to demand the Rhode Island charter, and to receive that of Connecticut, if tendered to him. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of quo warranto had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from courts submissive to the royal will; and the towns resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II., of blessed memory." Soon after the arrival of Andros he had demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode Island, Andros, in January, 1687, dissolved its government and broke its seal; five of its citizens were appointed members of his council, and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom. That these magistrates levied moderate taxes, payable in wool or other produce, is evident from the records. It was pretended that the people of Rhode Island were satisfied, and did not so much as petition for their charter again.

In the autumn of the same year Andros, attended by some of his council and by an armed guard, set forth to assume the government of Connecticut. Dongan had in vain solicited the people of Connecticut to submit to his jurisdiction; but least of all were they willing to hazard the continuance of liberty on the decision of the dependent English

courts. On the third writ of quo warranto, the colony, in a petition to the king, asserted its chartered rights, yet desired, in any event, rather to share the fortunes of Massachusetts than to be annexed to New York. Andros found the assembly in session, and, on the thirty-first of October, demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd had gathered to witness the debate. Tradition loves to relate that the charter lay on the table; that of a sudden the lights were extinguished, and, when they were rekindled, the charter had disappeared. It is certain that "in this very troublesome season, when the constitution of Connecticut was struck at, Captain Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, rendered fruitful and good service in securing the duplicate charter of the colony, and safely keeping and preserving the same" for nearly eight-and-twenty years. Meantime, Andros assumed the government, selected councillors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word FINIS. One of his few laws prohibited town-meetings except for the election of officers. The colonists submitted; yet their consciences were afterward "troubled at their hasty surrender."

While Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition, in 1688, against the French establishments, which have left a name to Castine, roused the passions of the neighboring Indians; and Andros made a vain pursuit of a retreating enemy, who had for their allies the forests and the inclement winter.

In July, 1688, the seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one dominion, with Boston for its capital, and was abandoned to Andros, as governor-general, to Randolph, as secretary, with their needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed their avarice. The eastern part of Maine had been pillaged by agents, who, as Randolph himself wrote, had been "as arbitrary as the Grand Turk;" and in New York there was "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But, on the arrival of the

new commission, Andros hastened to the south to assume the government of New York and New Jersey.

In Massachusetts "the wicked walked on every side, and the vilest men were exalted." The men in power as agents of James II. established an arbitrary government; as men in office, they coveted large emoluments.

The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. The religious institutions were impaired by abolishing the methods of their support. "It is pleasant," said the foreign agents of tyranny, "to behold poor coblers and pitiful mechanics, who have neither home nor land, strutting and making noe mean figure at their elections, and some of the richest merchants and wealthiest of the people stand by as insignificant cyphers;" and therefore a town-meeting was allowed only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a committee from Lynn, Andros said plainly: "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town-meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot.

The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance. They put by the annual thanksgiving; and at private fasts besought the Lord to repent himself for his servants, whose power was gone. Moody was confident that God would yet "be exalted among the heathen."

On the Lord's Day, which was to have been the day of thanksgiving for the queen's pregnancy, the church was much grieved at the weakness of Allen, who, from the improved Bay Psalm Book, gave out words of sympathy with the joy of the king. But Willard, while before prayer he read, among many other notices, the occasion of the governor's gratitude, and, after Puritan usage, interceded largely for the king, "otherwise altered not his course one jot," and, as the crisis drew near, goaded the people with the text: "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, warring against sin."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Desperate measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, embarked on the mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence pervaded the world.

On the restoration of Charles II., the Puritan or republican element lost all hope of dominion in England; and its history from 1660 to 1688 is but the history of the struggle for a compromise between the republic and absolute monarchy. The contest was continued, yet within limits so narrow as never to endanger the existence, or even question the right, of monarchy itself. The people had attempted a democratic revolution, and had failed; they awaited the movements of the aristocracy.

The ministry of Clarendon in 1660, the first after the restoration, acknowledged the indefeasible sovereignty of the king, and sought in the prelates and nobility natural allies for the royal prerogative. Not destitute of honest nationality, nor wholly regardless of English liberties, it renewed intolerance in religion; and, while it respected a balance of powers, claimed the preponderance in the state for the monarch. Twenty years of indulgence had rendered suppression of dissent more than ever impossible; but, as no general election for parliament was held, a change of ministry could be effected only by a faction within the palace. The royal council sustained Clarendon; the rakes about court, railing at his moroseness, echoed the popular clamor against him. His overthrow, after seven years' service, "was certainly designed in

Lady Castlemaine's chamber;" and, as the fallen minister retired at noonday from the audience of dismission, she "blessed herself at the old man's going away."

England had demanded a liberal ministry; it obtained a dissolute one: it had demanded a ministry not enslaved to prelacy; from 1668 to 1671 it obtained one careless of everything but pleasure. Buckingham, the noble buffoon at its head, ridiculed bishops as well as sermons; and when the Quakers went to him with their hats on, to discourse on the equal rights of every conscience, he told them that he was at heart in favor of their principle. English honor and English finances were wrecked; but the progress of the nation toward internal freedom was no longer opposed with steadfast consistency; and England was better satisfied than it had been with Clarendon.

As the tendency of public affairs became apparent, a new division necessarily followed: the king, from 1671 to 1673, was surrounded by men who still desired to uphold the prerogative; while Shaftesbury, "unwilling to hurt the king, yet desiring to keep him tame in a cage;" averse to the bishops, because the bishops would place prerogative above liberty; averse to democracy, because democracy would substitute equality for privilege—in organizing a party, afterward known as the whig party, suited himself to the spirit of the times. It was an age of progress toward liberty of conscience; Shaftesbury favored toleration: the vast increase of commercial activity claimed for the moneyed interest an influence in the government; Shaftesbury lent a willing ear to the merchants; but he did not so much divide dominion with the merchants and the Presbyterians as offer them the patronage of his order in return for their support; having for his main object to keep "the bucket" of the aristocracy from sinking. The declaration of indulgence in 1672, an act of high prerogative, yet directed against the friends of prerogative, was his measure. Immediately freedom of conscience awakened in English industry unparalleled energies; and Shaftesbury, the skeptic chancellor, was eulogized as the saviour of religion. Had the king been firm, the measure would probably have succeeded. He wavered, for he distrusted the dissenters; the

Presbyterians wavered, for how could they be satisfied with relief dependent on the royal pleasure? The seal of the declaration was broken in the king's presence; and Shaftesbury, turning upon his fickle sovereign, courted a popular party by a test act against papists, and by a bill in parliament for the ease of Protestant dissenters.

Under the lord treasurer, Danby, the old cavaliers recovered power from 1673 to 1679. It was the day for statues to Charles I. and new cathedrals. To win strength for his party, Danby was willing to aid in crushing popery, and promoting belief in a popish plot. But Shaftesbury was already sure of the merchants and dissenters, and exclaimed: "Let the treasurer cry as loud as he pleases; I will cry a note louder, and soon take his place at the head of the plot;" and, indifferent to perjuries and judicial murders, he succeeded. In the house of commons Danby preferred a perpetual parliament to the hazard of a new election, and, by pensions and rewards, purchased a majority. But knavery has a wisdom of its own; the profligate members had a fixed maxim, never to grant him so much at once that they should cease to be needed; and, discovering his intrigues for drawing a permanent revenue from France, in January, 1679, they impeached him. To save the minister, this longest of English parliaments was dissolved.

When, after nineteen years, the people of England were once more allowed to elect representatives, Shaftesbury, whom, for his restlessness and his diminutive stature, the king called Little Sincerity, was enabled by the great majority against the court to force himself upon the reluctant monarch as lord president of the council. The event, which took place on the twenty-first of April, is an era in English history; Shaftesbury was the first British statesman to attain the guidance of a ministry through parliament by means of an organized party against the wishes of the king. A bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession was introduced into the house of commons as a measure of the ministry; and the young men cried up every measure against the duke; "like so many young spaniels, that run and bark at every lark that springs." "The axe," wrote Charles, "is laid to

the root; and monarchy must go down too, or bow exceeding low before the almighty power of parliament;" and just after Shaftesbury, who, as chancellor, had opened the prison-doors of Bunyan, now, as president of the council, had carried the habeas corpus act, he was dismissed, and the commons were prorogued and dissolved. From May, 1679, the councils of the Stuarts inclined to absolutism.

Immediately a plan of universal agitation was begun to rouse the spirit of the nation. Under the influence of Shaftesbury, on Queen Elizabeth's night, the fifth of October, 1679, a vast procession, bearing devices and wax figures representing nuns and monks, bishops in copes and mitres, and bishops in lawn, cardinals in red caps, and, last of all, the pope of Rome, side by side in a litter with the devil, moved through the streets of London, under the glare of thousands of flambeaux, and in the presence of two hundred thousand spectators; the disobedient Monmouth was welcomed with bonfires and peals of bells; a panic was created, as if every Protestant freeman were to be massacred; the kingdom was divided into districts among committees to procure petitions for a parliament, one of which had twenty thousand signatures and measured three hundred feet; and at last the most cherished Anglo-Saxon institution was made to do service, when, in June, 1680, Shaftesbury, proceeding to Westminster, represented to the grand jury the mighty dangers from popery, indicted the duke of York as a recusant, and reported the duchess of Portsmouth, the king's new mistress, as "a common neusance." The agitation was successful; in these two successive parliaments of 1680 and 1681, in each of which men who were at heart dissenters had the majority, the bill for excluding the duke of York was passed by triumphant votes in the house of commons, and defeated only by the lords and the king.

The public mind, firm, even to superstition, in its respect for hereditary succession, was not ripe for the measure of exclusion. After less than a week's session, Charles II. dissolved the last parliament of his reign. His friends declared him to have no other purpose than to resist the arbitrary sway of "a republican prelacy," and the installation of the multi-

tude in the chair of infallibility; the ferocious intolerance which had sustained the popish plot lost its credit; and at the moment men dreaded anarchy and civil war more than they feared the royal prerogative.

The king had already exercised the power of restricting the liberty of the press; through judges, who held places at his pleasure, he was supreme in the courts; omitting to convoke parliament, he made himself irresponsible to the people; pursuing a judicial warfare against city charters and the monopolies of boroughs, he reformed many real abuses, but at the same time subjected corporations to his influence; controlling the appointment of sheriffs, he controlled the nomination of juries; and thus, in the last three or four years of the reign of King Charles II., the government of England was administered as an absolute monarchy. An "association" against the duke of York could not succeed among a calculating aristocracy, as the Scottish covenant had done among a faithful people; and, on its disclosure and defeat, the self-exile of Shaftesbury excited no plebeian regret. No deep popular indignation attended Russell to the scaffold; and, on the seventh of December, 1683, the day on which Algernon Sidney, the purest martyr to aristocratic liberty, laid his head on the block, the university of Oxford decreed absolute obedience to be the character of the church of England, while parts of the writings of Knox, Milton, and Baxter were pronounced "false, seditious, and impious, heretical and blasphemous, infamous to the Christian religion, and destructive of all government," and were therefore ordered to be burnt.

Liberty, which at the restoration insane loyalty repressed in the public thought and purpose, glided between rakes and the king's mistress into the royal councils. Driven from the palace, it appealed to parliament and the people, and won power through the frenzied antipathy to Roman Catholics. Dismissed from parliament by its dissolution, from the people by the ebb of excitement, it concealed itself in an aristocratic association and a secret aristocratic council. Chased from its hiding-place by disclosures and executions, and having no hope from parliament, people, the press, the courts of justice, or

the king, it left the soil of England, and fled for refuge to the prince of Orange.

On the death of Charles II., in 1685, his brother ascended the throne without opposition, continued taxes by his prerogative, easily suppressed the insurrection of Monmouth, and under the new system of charters convened a parliament so subservient that it bowed its back to royal chastisement. The "Presbyterian rascals," the troublesome Calvinists, who, from the days of Edward VI., had kept English liberty alive, were consigned to the courts of law. "Richard," said Jeffries to Baxter, "Richard, thou art an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. I know thou hast a mighty party, and a great many of the brotherhood are waiting in corners to see what will become of their mighty Don; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I'll crush you all;" and the docile jury found "the main incendiary" guilty of sedition. Faction had ebbed; "rogues" had grown out of fashion; there was nothing left for them but to "thrive in the plantations." The royalist Dryden wrote:

> The land with saints is so run o'er,
> And every age produces such a store,
> That now there's need of two New Englands more.

To understand fully the revolution which followed, it must be borne in mind that the great mass of dissenters were struggling for liberty; but, checked by the memory of the disastrous issue of the previous revolution, they ranged themselves, with deliberate moderation, under the more liberal party of the aristocracy. Of Cromwell's army, the officers had been, "for the most part, the meanest sort of men, even brewers, cobblers, and other mechanics;" recruits for the camp of William of Orange were led by bishops and the high nobility. There was a vast popular movement, but it was subordinate; the proclamation of the prince took notice of the people only as "followers" of the gentry. Yet the revolution of 1688 is due to the dissenters quite as much as to the whig aristocracy; to Baxter hardly less than to Shaftesbury. It is the consummation of the collision which, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward, began between the churchmen and

the Puritans, between those who invoked religion on the side of passive obedience, and those who held resistance to tyranny a Christian duty. If the whig aristocracy looked to the stadholder of aristocratic Holland as the protector of their liberties, Baxter and the Presbyterians saw in William the Calvinist their tolerant avenger.

Of the two great aristocratic parties of England, both respected the established British constitution. But the tory defended his privileges against the encroachments of advancing civilization, and asserted the indefeasible rights of the bishops, of the aristocracy, and of the king, against dissenters, republicans, and whigs.

The whigs were bent on the preservation of their privileges against the encroachments of the monarch. In an age that demanded liberty, they gathered up every liberty, feudal or popular, known to English law, and sanctioned by the fictitious compact of prescription. In a period of progress in the enfranchisement of classes, they extended political influence to the merchants and bankers; in an age of religious sects, they embraced the more moderate and liberal of the church of England, and those of the dissenters whose dissent was the least glaring; in an age of speculative inquiry, they favored freedom of the press. How vast was the party is evident, since it cherished among its numbers men so opposite as Shaftesbury and Sidney, as Locke and Baxter.

These two parties embraced almost all the wealth and learning of England. But there was a third party of those who were pledged to "seek and love and chuse the best things." They insisted that all penal statutes and tests should be abolished; that, for all classes of non-conformists, whether Roman Catholics or dissenters, for the plebeian sects, "the less noble and more clownish sort of people," "the unclean kind," room should equally be made in the English ark; that the church of England, satisfied with its estates, should give up jails, whips, halters, and gibbets, and cease to plough the deep furrows of persecution; that the concession of equal freedom would give strength to the state, security to the prince, content to the multitude, wealth to the country, and would fit England for its office of asserting European liberty

against the ambition of France; that reason, natural right, and public interest demanded a glorious magna charta for intellectual freedom, even though the grant should be followed by "a dissolution of the great corporation of conscience." These were the views which were advocated by William Penn against what he calls "the prejudices of his times;" and which overwhelmed his name with obloquy as a friend to tyranny and a Jesuit priest in disguise.

But the easy issue of the contest grew out of a division in the monarchical party itself. James II. could not comprehend the value of freedom or the obligation of law. The writ of habeas corpus he esteemed inconsistent with monarchy, and "a great misfortune to the people." A standing army, and the terrors of corrupt tribunals, were his dependence; he delighted in military parades; swayed by his confessor, he dispensed with the laws, multiplied Catholic chapels, rejoiced in the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and sought to intrust civil and military power to Roman Catholics.

The bishops had unanimously voted against his exclusion; and, as the badge of the church of England was obedience, he for a season courted the alliance of "the fairest of the spotted kind." To win her favor for Roman Catholics, he was willing to persecute Protestant dissenters. This is the period of the influence of Rochester.

The church of England refused the alliance. The king, from 1687, would put no confidence in any zealous Protestant; he applauded the bigotry of Louis XIV., from whom he solicited money. "I hope," said he, "the king of France will aid me, and that we together shall do great things for religion;" and the established church became the object of his implacable hatred. "Her day of grace was past." The royal favor was withheld, that she might silently waste and dissolve like snows in spring. To diminish her numbers, and apparently from no other motive, he granted—what Sunderland might have done from indifference, and Penn from love of justice—equal franchises to every sect; to the powerful Calvinist and to the "puny" Quaker, to Anabaptists and Independents, and "all the wild increase" which unsatisfied inquiry could generate. The declaration of indulgence was

esteemed a death-blow to the church, and a forerunner of the reconciliation of England to Rome. The franchises of Oxford were invaded, that Catholics might share in its endowments; the bishops were imprisoned, because they would not publish in their churches the declaration, of which the purpose was their overthrow; and, that the system of tyranny might be perpetuated, heaven, as the monarch believed, blessed his pious pilgrimage to St. Winifred's well by the pregnancy of his wife and the birth of a son. The party of prerogative was trampled under foot; and, in their despair, they looked abroad for the liberty which they themselves had assisted to exile. The obedient church of England set the example of rebellion. Thus are the divine counsels perfected. "What think you now of predestination?" demanded William, as he landed in England. Tories took the lead in inviting the prince of Orange to save the English church; the whigs joined to rescue the privileges of the nobility; the Presbyterians rushed eagerly into the only safe avenue to toleration; the people quietly acquiesced. On the fifth of November, 1688, William of Orange landed in England. King James was left alone in his palace. His terrified priests escaped to the continent; Sunderland was always false; his confidential friends betrayed him; his daughter Anne, pleading conscience, proved herself one of his worst enemies. "God help me," exclaimed the disconsolate father, bursting into tears, "my very children have forsaken me;" and his grief was increased by losing a piece of the true wood of the cross, that had belonged to Edward the Confessor. Paralyzed by the imbecility of doubt, and destitute of counsellors, he fled beyond the sea. Aided by falsehoods, the prince of Orange, without striking a blow, ascended the throne of his father-in-law; and Mary, by whose letters James was lulled into security, came over to occupy the throne, the palace, and the bed of her father, and sequester the inheritance of her brother.

The great news of the invasion of England and the declaration of the prince of Orange reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger was immediately imprisoned, but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution.

"There is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter or they know not what:" such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholst, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the eighteenth, just as George, the commander of the Rose frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston ship-carpenters gathered about him and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff endeavored to quiet the multitude; and they arrested him. They next hastened to the major of the regiment, and demanded colors and drums. He resisted; they threatened. The crowd increased; companies form under Nelson, Foster, Waterhouse, their old officers; and already at ten they seized Bullivant, Foxcroft, and Ravenscraft. Boys ran along the streets with clubs; the drums beat; the governor, with his creatures, meeting opposition in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. All the companies soon rallied at the town-house. Just then, the last governor of the colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet, glorious with the dignity of fourscore years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1630, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new, drew near the town-house, and was received by a great shout from the freemen. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people;" and a declaration read from the balcony defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country. "We commit our enterprise," it was added, "to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to joyn with us in prayers and all just actions for the defence of the land."

On Charlestown side a thousand soldiers crowded together, and there would have been more of them if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by submission; through the streets where he had first displayed his

scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison.

On the next day the country people came swarming across the Charlestown and Chelsea ferries, headed by Shepherd, a school-master of Lynn. All the cry was against Andros and Randolph. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied.

How should a new government be instituted? Town-meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more, voted to re-assume the old charter. Representatives were chosen, and, on the twenty-second of May, Massachusetts once more assembled in general court.

Already, on the twenty-second of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros at Plymouth, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the pilgrims renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the Mayflower.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May-day, their usual election day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God, which had wonderfully supported their predecessors and themselves through more than ordinary difficulties and hardships." "We take it to be our duty," thus they continue, "to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And, by a unanimous vote, the officers, whom Andros had displaced, were confirmed. But Walter Clarke wavered. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. The assembly, accepting Clarke's disclaimer, elected Almy. Again excuse was made. All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and, in February, 1690, the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organ-

ized: its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, HOPE.

From Massachusetts "the amazing news did soon fly like lightning;" and the people of Connecticut spurned the government which Andros had appointed, and which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter was resumed; an assembly was convened; and, in spite of the FINIS of Andros, on the ninth of May, 1689, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

New York shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. "The Dutch plot" was matured by Jacob Leisler, a native of the republic of Frankfort-on-the-Main, a man of energy, but ill-educated, and by his son-in-law Milborne. Led by them, the common people among the Dutch, with less support from the English population, insisted on proclaiming the stadholder of the united provinces king of England.

In New Jersey there was no insurrection. The inhabitants were unwilling to invoke the interference of the proprietaries. There is no reason to doubt that, in the several towns, officers were chosen, as before, by the inhabitants themselves, to regulate all local affairs, while the provincial government, as established by James II., fell with Andros. The Mohawks, kindling at the prospect of an ally, chanted their loudest war-song, and prepared to descend on Montreal.

This New England revolution, beginning at Boston, extended to the Chesapeake and to the wilderness, and "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England.

Could it be that America was deceived in her confidence; that she had but substituted the absolute sovereignty of parliament, which to her would prove the double despotism of a commercial as well as a landed aristocracy, for the rule of the Stuarts? Boston was the centre of the revolution which now spread to the Chesapeake; in less than a century it will begin a revolution for humanity, and rouse a spirit of power to emancipate the world.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RESULT THUS FAR.

Thus have we traced, almost exclusively from contemporary documents and records, the colonization of the twelve oldest states of our union. At the period of the great European revolution of 1688 they contained not very many beyond two hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had forty-four thousand; New Hampshire, and Rhode Island with Providence, each six thousand; Connecticut, from seventeen to twenty thousand; that is, all New England, seventy-five thousand souls; New York, not less than twenty thousand; New Jersey, half as many; Pennsylvania and Delaware, perhaps twelve thousand; Maryland, twenty-five thousand; Virginia, fifty thousand, or more; and the two Carolinas, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than eight thousand souls.

The emigration of the fathers of these twelve commonwealths, with the planting of the principles on which they rested, though, like the introduction of Christianity into Rome, but little regarded by contemporary writers, was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century. The elements of our country, such as she exists to-day, were already there.

Of the institutions of the Old World, monarchy had no motive to emigrate, and was present only by its shadow; in the proprietary governments, by the shadow of a shadow. The feudal aristocracy had accomplished its mission in Europe; it could not gain new life among the equal conditions of the wilderness; in at least four of the twelve colonies it did not originally exist at all, and in the rest had scarcely a monu-

ment except in the forms of holding property. Priestcraft did not emigrate; to the forests of America religion came as a companion; the American mind never bowed to an idolatry of forms; and there was not a prelate in the English part of the continent. The municipal corporations of the European commercial world, the close intrenchments of burghers against the landed aristocracy, could not be transferred to our shores, where no baronial castles demanded the concerted opposition of guilds. Nothing came from Europe but a free people. The people, separating itself from all other elements of previous civilization; the people, self-confiding and industrious; the people, wise by all traditions that favored its culture and happiness—alone broke away from European influence, and in the New World laid the foundations of our republic. Like Moses, as they said of themselves, they had escaped from Egyptian bondage to the wilderness, that God might there give them the pattern of the tabernacle. Like the favored evangelist, the exiles, in their western Patmos, listened to the angel that dictated the new gospel of freedom. Overwhelmed in Europe, popular liberty, like the fabled fountain of the sacred Arethusa, gushed forth profusely in remoter fields.

Of the nations of the European world, the chief emigration was from that Germanic race most famed for the love of personal independence. The immense majority of American families were not of "the high folk of Normandie," but were of "the low men," who were Saxons. This is true of New England; it is true of the south. The Virginians were Anglo-Saxons in the woods again, with the inherited culture and intelligence of the seventeenth century. "The major part of the house of burgesses now consisted of Virginians that never saw a town." The Anglo-Saxon mind, in its serenest nationality, neither distorted by fanaticism, nor subdued by superstition, nor wounded by persecution, nor excited by new ideas, but fondly cherishing the active instinct for personal freedom, secure possession, and legislative power, such as belonged to it before the reformation, and existed independent of the reformation, had made its dwelling-place in the empire of Powhatan. With consistent firmness of

character, the Virginians welcomed representative assemblies; displaced an unpopular governor; at the overthrow of monarchy, established the freest government; rebelled against the politics of the Stuarts; and, uneasy at the royalist principles which prevailed in its forming aristocracy, soon manifested the tendency of the age at the polls.

The colonists, including their philosophy in their religion, as the people up to that time had always done, were neither skeptics nor sensualists, but Christians. The school that bows to the senses as the sole interpreter of truth had little share in colonizing our America. The colonists from Maine to Carolina, the adventurous companions of Smith, the proscribed Puritans that freighted the fleet of Winthrop, the Quaker outlaws that fled from jails with a Newgate prisoner as their sovereign—all had faith in God and in the soul. The system which had been revealed in Judea—the system which combines and perfects the symbolic wisdom of the Orient and the reflective genius of Greece—the system, conforming to reason, yet kindling enthusiasm; always hastening reform, yet always conservative; proclaiming absolute equality among men, yet not suddenly abolishing the unequal institutions of society; guaranteeing absolute freedom, yet invoking the inexorable restrictions of duty; in the highest degree theoretical, and yet in the highest degree practical; awakening the inner man to a consciousness of his destiny, and yet adapted with exact harmony to the outward world; at once divine and humane—this system was professed in every part of our widely extended country, and cradled our freedom.

Our fathers were not only Christians; they were, even in Maryland by a vast majority, elsewhere almost unanimously, Protestants. Now the Protestant reformation, considered in its largest influence on politics, was the awakening of the common people to freedom of mind.

During the decline of the Roman empire, the oppressed invoked the power of Christianity to resist the supremacy of brute force; and the merciful priest assumed the office of protector. The tribunes of Rome, appointed by the people, had been declared inviolable by the popular vote; the new tribunes of humanity, deriving their office from religion, and

ordained by religion to a still more venerable sanctity, defended the poor man's house against lust by the sacrament of marriage; restrained arbitrary passion by a menace of the misery due to sin unrepented of and unatoned; and taught respect for the race by sprinkling every new-born child with the water of life, confirming every youth, bearing the oil of consolation to every death-bed, and sharing freely with every human being the consecrated emblem of God present with man.

But from protectors priests grew to be usurpers. Expressing all moral truth by the mysteries of symbols, and reserving to themselves the administration of seven sacraments, they claimed a monopoly of thought and exercised an absolute spiritual dominion. Human bondage was strongly riveted; for they had fastened it on the affections, the understanding, and the reason. Ordaining their own successors, they ruled human destiny at birth, on entering active life, at marriage, when frailty breathed its confession, when faith aspired to communion with God, and at death.

The fortunes of the human race are embarked in a life-boat and cannot be wrecked. Mind refuses to rest; and active freedom is a necessary condition of intelligent existence. The instinctive love of truth could warm even the scholastic theologian; but the light which it kindled for him was oppressed by verbal erudition, and its flickering beams, scarce lighting the cell of the solitary, could not fill the colonnade of the cloister, far less reach the busy world.

Sensualism also was free to mock superstition. Scoffing infidelity put on the cardinal's hat, and made even the Vatican ring with ribaldry. But the indifference of dissoluteness has no creative power; it does but substitute the despotism of the senses for a spiritual despotism; it never brought enfranchisements to the multitude.

The feudal aristocracy resisted spiritual authority by the sword; but it was only to claim greater license for their own violence. Temporal sovereigns, jealous of a power which threatened to depose the unjust prince, were ready to set prelacy against prelacy, the national church against the Catholic church; but it was only to assert the absolute liberty of despotism.

By slow degrees, the students of the humanities, as they were called, polished scholars, learned lessons of freedom from Grecian and Roman example; but they hid their patriotism in a dead language, and forfeited the claim to higher influence and enduring fame by suppressing truth, and yielding independence to the interests of priests and princes.

Human enfranchisement could not advance securely but through the people; for whom philosophy was included in religion, and religion veiled in symbols. There had ever been within the Catholic church men who preferred truth to forms, justice to despotic force. "Dominion," said Wycliffe, "belongs to grace," meaning, as I believe, that the feudal government, which rested on the sword, should yield to a government resting on moral principles. And he knew the right method to hasten the coming revolution. "Truth," he asserted with wisest benevolence, "truth shines more brightly the more widely it is diffused;" and, catching the plebeian language that lived on the lips of the multitude, he gave England the Bible in the vulgar tongue. A timely death could alone place him beyond persecution; his bones were disinterred and burnt, and his ashes thrown on the waters of the Avon. But his fame brightens as time advances; when America traces the lineage of her intellectual freedom, she acknowledges the benefactions of Wycliffe.

In the next century, a kindred spirit emerged in Bohemia, and tyranny, quickened by the nearer approach of danger, summoned John Huss to its tribunal, set on his head a huge paper mitre begrimed with hobgoblins, permitted the bishops to strip him and curse him, and consigned one of the gentlest and purest of our race to the flames. "Holy simplicity!" exclaimed he, as a peasant piled fagots on the fire; still preserving faith in humanity, though its noblest instincts could be so perverted; and, perceiving the only mode through which reform could prevail, he gave as a last counsel to his multitude of followers: "Put not your trust in princes." Of the descendants of his Bohemian disciples, a few certainly came to us by way of Holland; his example was for all.

Years are as days in the providence of God and in the progress of the race. After long waiting, an Augustine monk

at Wittenberg, who loathed the lewd corruptions of the Roman court and the deceptions of a coarse superstition, brooded in his cell over the sins of his age and the method of rescuing conscience from the dominion of forms, till he discovered a cure for these vices in the simple idea of justification by faith alone. With this principle, easily intelligible to the universal mind, and spreading, like an epidemic, widely and rapidly—a principle strong enough to dislodge every superstition, to overturn every tyranny, to enfranchise, convert, and save the world —he broke the wand of papal supremacy, scattered the lazars of the monasteries, and drove the penance of fasts and the terrors of purgatory, masses for the dead and indulgences for the living, into the paradise of fools. That his principle contained a democratic revolution Luther saw clearly; he acknowledged that "the rulers and the lawyers needed a reformer;" but he "could not hope that they would soon get a wise one," and in a stormy age, leaving to futurity its office, accepted shelter from feudal sovereigns. "It is a heathenish doctrine," such was his compromise with princes, "that a wicked ruler may be deposed." "Do not pipe to the populace, for it anyhow delights in running mad." "God lets rogues rule for the people's sin." "A crazy populace is a desperate, cursed thing; a tyrant is the right clog to tie on that dog's neck." And yet, adds Luther, "I have no word of comfort for the usurers and scoundrels among the aristocracy, whose vices make the common people esteem the whole aristocracy to be out and out worthless." And he praised the printing-press as the noblest gift of human genius. He forbade priests and bishops to make laws how men shall believe; for, said he, "man's authority stretches neither to heaven nor to the soul." Nor did he leave Truth to droop in a cloister or wither in a palace, but carried her forth in her freedom to the multitude; and, when tyrants ordered the German peasantry to deliver up their Saxon New Testament, "No," cried Luther, "not a single leaf." He pointed out the path in which civilization should travel, though he could not go on to the end of the journey.

In pursuing the history of our country, we shall hereafter meet in the Lutheran kingdom of Prussia, of which the dynasty

had become Calvinistic, at one time an ally, at another a neutral friend. The direct influence of Lutheranism on America was inconsiderable. New Sweden alone had the faith and the politics of the German reformer.

As the New World sheltered neither bishops nor princes, in respect to political opinion, the Anglican church in Virginia was but an enfranchisement from popery, favoring humanity and freedom. The inhabitants of Virginia were conformists after the pattern of Sandys and of Southampton rather than of Whitgift and Laud. Of themselves they asked no questions about the surplice, and never wore the badge of non-resisting obedience.

The meaner and more ignoble the party, the more general and comprehensive are its principles; for none but principles of universal freedom can reach the meanest condition. The serf defends the widest philanthropy; for that alone can break his bondage. The plebeian sect of Anabaptists, "the scum of the reformation," with greater consistency than Luther, applied the doctrine of the reformation to the social relations of life, and threatened an end to kingcraft, spiritual dominion, tithes, and vassalage. The party was trodden under foot, with foul reproaches and most arrogant scorn; and its history is written in the blood of myriads of the German peasantry; but its principles, safe in their immortality, escaped with Roger Williams to Providence; and his colony is the witness that, naturally, the paths of the Baptists were paths of freedom, pleasantness, and peace.

Luther finished his mission in the heart of Germany under the safeguard of princes. In Geneva, a republic on the confines of France, Italy, and Germany, Calvin, the great refugee from France, appealing to the people for support, carried forward and organized the reform.

The political character of Calvinism, which, with one consent and with instinctive judgment, the monarchs of that day, except that of Prussia, feared as republicanism, and which Charles II. declared a religion unfit for a gentleman, is expressed in a single word—predestination. Did a proud aristocracy trace its lineage through generations of a high-born ancestry, the republican reformer, with a loftier pride, invaded

the invisible world, and from the book of life brought down the record of the noblest rank, decreed from all eternity by the King of kings. His converts defied the opposing world as a world of reprobates, whom God had despised and rejected. To them the senses were a totally depraved foundation, on which neither truth nor goodness could rest. They went forth in confidence that men who were kindling with the same exalted instincts would listen to their voice, and be effectually "called into the brunt of the battle" by their side. And, standing serenely amid the crumbling fabrics of centuries of superstitions, they had faith in one another; and the martyrdoms of Cambray, the fires of Smithfield, the surrender of benefices by two thousand non-conforming Presbyterians, attest their perseverance.

Such was the system which, for a century and a half, assumed the guardianship of liberty for the English world. "A wicked tyrant is better than a wicked war," said Luther, preaching non-resistance; and Cranmer echoed back: "God's people are called to render obedience to governors, although they be wicked or wrong-doers, and in no case to resist." English Calvinism reserved the right of resisting tyranny. To advance intellectual freedom, Calvinism denied, absolutely denied, the sacrament of ordination, thus breaking up the great monopoly of priestcraft, and knowing no master, mediator, or teacher but the eternal reason. "Kindle the fire before my face," said Jerome, meekly, as he resigned himself to his fate; to quench the fires of persecution forever, Calvinism resisted with fire and blood, and, shouldering the musket, proved, as a foot-soldier, that, on the field of battle, the invention of gunpowder had levelled the plebeian and the knight. To restrain absolute monarchy in France, in Scotland, in England, it allied itself with the party of the past, the decaying feudal aristocracy, which it was sure to outlive; for protection against feudal aristocracy, it infused itself into the mercantile class and the inferior gentry; to secure a life in the public mind, in Geneva, in Scotland, wherever it gained dominion, it invoked intelligence for the people, and in every parish planted the common school.

In an age of commerce, to stamp its influence on the New

World, it went on board the fleet of Winthrop, and was wafted to the bay of Massachusetts. Is it denied that events follow principles, that mind rules the world? The institutions of Massachusetts were the exact counterpart of its religious system. Calvinism claimed heaven for the elect; Massachusetts gave franchises to the members of the visible church, and inexorably disfranchised churchmen, royalists, and all world's people. Calvinism overthrew priestcraft; in Massachusetts, none but the magistrate could marry; the brethren could ordain. Calvinism saw in goodness infinite joy, in evil infinite woe, and, recognising no other abiding distinctions, opposed secretly but surely hereditary monarchy, aristocracy, and bondage; Massachusetts owned no king but the king of heaven, no aristocracy but of the redeemed, no bondage but the hopeless, infinite, and eternal bondage of sin. Calvinism invoked intelligence against satan, the great enemy of the human race; and the farmers and seamen of Massachusetts nourished its college with gifts of corn and strings of wampum, and wherever there were families, built the free school. Calvinism, in its zeal against Rome, reverenced the bible even to idolatry; and, in Massachusetts, the songs of Deborah and David were sung without change; hostile Algonkins, like the Canaanites, were exterminated or enslaved; and wretched innocents were hanged, because it was written, "The witch shall die."

"Do not stand still with Luther and Calvin," said Robinson, the father of the pilgrims, confident in human advancement. From Luther to Calvin there was progress; from Geneva to New England there was more. Calvinism, as a political power, in an age when politics were controlled by religious sects; Calvinism, such as it existed, in opposition to prelacy and feudalism, could not continue in a world where there was no prelacy to combat, no aristocracy to overthrow. It therefore received developments which were imprinted on institutions. It migrated to the Connecticut; and there, forgetting its foes, it put off its armor of religious pride. "You go to receive your reward," was said to Hooker on his deathbed. "I go to receive mercy," was his reply. For predestination Connecticut substituted benevolence. It hanged no Quakers, it mutilated no heretics. Its early legislation is the

breath of reason and charity; and Jonathan Edwards did but sum up the political history of his native commonwealth for a century, when, anticipating, and in his consistency excelling, Godwin and Bentham, he gave Calvinism its political euthanasia, by declaring virtue to consist in universal love.

In Boston, with Henry Vane and Anne Hutchinson, "Calvinism ran to seed;" and the seed was "incorruptible." Election implies faith, and faith freedom. Claiming the spirit of God as the companion of man, the Antinomians asserted absolute freedom of mind. For predestination they substituted consciousness. "If the ordinances be all taken away, Christ cannot be;" the forms of truth may perish; truth itself is immortal. "God will be ordinances to us." The exiled doctrine, which established conscience as the highest court of appeal, fled to the island gift of Miantonomoh; and the records of Rhode Island are the commentary on the true import of the creed.

Faith in predestination alone divided the Antinomians from the Quakers. Both reverenced and obeyed the voice of conscience in its freedom. The near resemblance was perceived so soon as the fame of George Fox reached America; and the principal followers of Anne Hutchinson, Coddington, Mary Dyar, Henry Bull, and a majority of the people, avowed themselves to be Quakers.

The principle of freedom of mind, first asserted for the common people, under a religious form, by Wycliffe, had been pursued by a series of plebeian societies, till it at last reached a perfect development, coinciding with the highest attainment of European philosophy.

By giving a welcome to every sect, America was safe against narrow bigotry. At the same time, the moral duty of the forming nation was not impaired. Of the various parties into which the reformation divided the people, each, from the proudest to the humblest, rallied round a truth. But, as truth never contradicts itself, the collision of sects could but eliminate error; and the American mind, in the largest sense eclectic, struggled for universality, while it asserted freedom. How had the world been governed by despotism and bigotry; by superstition and the sword; by the ambition of conquest and

the pride of privilege! And now the happy age gave birth to a people which was to own no authority as the highest but the free conviction of the public mind.

Thus had Europe given to America her sons and her culture. She was the mother of our men, and of the ideas which guided them to greatness. The relations of our country to humanity were already wider. The three races—the Caucasian, the Ethiopian, and the American—were in presence of one another on our soil. Would the red man disappear entirely from the forests, which for thousands of years had sheltered him safely? Would the black man, in the end, be benefited by the crimes of mercantile avarice? At the close of the middle age, the Caucasian race was in nearly exclusive possession of the elements of civilization, while the Ethiopian remained in insulated barbarism. No commerce connected it with Europe; no intercourse existed by travel, by letters, or by war; it was too feeble to attempt an invasion of a Christian prince or an Arab dynasty. The slave-trade united the races by an indissoluble bond; the first ship that brought Africans to America was a sure pledge that, in due time, ships from the New World would carry the equal blessings of Christianity to the burning plains of Nigritia, that descendants of Africans would aspire to the benefits of European civilization.

That America should benefit the African was always the excuse for the slave-trade. Would America benefit Europe? The probable influence of the New World on the Old became a prize question at Paris; but not one of the writers divined the true answer. They looked for it in commerce, in mines, in natural productions; and they should have looked for revolutions, as a consequence of moral power. The Greek colonists planted free and prosperous cities; and, in a following century, each metropolis, envying the happiness of its daughters, imitated its institutions, and rejected kings. Rome, a nation of soldiers, planted colonies by the sword, and retributive justice merged its liberties in absolute despotism. The American colonists founded their institutions on popular freedom, and "set an example to the nations." Already the plebeian outcasts, the Anglo-Saxon emigrants, were the hope of the world. We are like the Parthians, said Norton in Boston;

our arrows wound the more for our flight. "Jotham upon Mount Gerizim is bold to utter his apologue."

We have written the origin of our country; we are now to pursue the history of its wardship. The relations of the rising colonies, the representatives of democratic freedom, are chiefly with France and England; with the monarchy of France, which was the representative of absolute despotism, having subjected the three estates of the realm, the clergy by a treaty with the pope, feudalism by standing armies, the communal institutions by executive patronage and a vigorous police; with the parliament of England, which was the representative of aristocratic liberties, and had ratified royalty, primogeniture, corporate charters, the peerage, tithes, prelates, prescriptive franchises, and every established immunity and privilege. The three nations and the three systems were, by the revolution of 1688, brought into direct contrast with one another. At the same time, the English world was lifted out of theological forms, and entered upon the career of commerce, which had been prepared by the navigation acts and by the mutual treaties for colonial monopoly with France and Spain. The period through which we have passed shows why we are a free people; the coming period will show why we are a united people. We shall have no tales to relate of more adventure than in the early period of Virginia, none of more sublimity than of the pilgrims at Plymouth. But we are about to enter on a wider theatre; and, as we trace the progress of commercial ambition through events which shook the globe from the wilds beyond the Alleghanies to the ancient abodes of civilization in Hindostan, we shall still see that the selfishness of evil defeats itself, and God rules in the affairs of men.

END OF VOLUME I.

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